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ABSTRACT

This document, intended for use by guidance professionals and educators, examines basic vocational guidance issues pertaining to the transition from school to work in a cross-cultural context. The introductory chapter, "A Perspective on Transition from School to Work" (William C. Bingham), provides a conceptual framework for examining guidance practices as they relate to the transition from school to work. Following this, current practice in each of five countries is described in separate chapters: (1) "Vocational Guidance Services for Transition from School to Work in Canada" (D. Stuart Conger); (2) "The Buddha and the Computer: Career Guidance in Taiwan of China" (Martin R. Katz); (3) "Preparation for Work in Colombia" (William C. Bingham); (4)"Vocational Guidance in Greece: Change in the Midst of Tradition" (Niki Tzavella); and (5) "Vocational Guidance in the Cote d'Ivoire" (Annie Perrier). In the final chapter, "Cross-Cultural Analysis and Synthesis" (William C. Bingham), the five country descriptions are brought together for a direct examination of the similarities and differences between them. Appended are a discussion and study guide, suggestions for the training of guidance workers, and a list of Canadian publications on vocational guidance in English and French. A list of 107 references is included. (TE)

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Reports Studies...

S.132

A CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

by

William C. Bingham

for the
International Association for
Educational and Vocational Guidance

Division of Educational Policy and Planning

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C Unesco, 1986

Limited Distribution

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PREFACE

The purpose of this monograph is to facilitate thoughtful discussion of some basic issues which bear on one important dimension of vocational behavior -- the transition from school to work. It is intended to portray what is actually occurring in selected countries as a point of departure for examining what might be done, by professionals, to assist individuals as they move through, and then out of, formal preparation and into employment. In particular, the aim is to focus attention on those principles which appear to warrant thorough consideration respecting the design, improvement, and expansion of educational and vocational guidance as it relates to this transition from school to work.

The word *guidance* appears many times in the pages that follow. The different meanings attributed to this term in different societies make it appropriate to pause and make its use in the present context clear. In other contexts (see Unesco, 1983) a distinction has sometimes been made between educational and vocational guidance: *educational guidance* being defined as 'the process of assisting individuals to choose and successfully complete programs of education suited to their talents and interests, taking into account prior educational achievement and any future job or career plans they may have.' (p. 4); and *vocational guidance* being defined as 'the process of assisting individuals to choose and enter an occupation suited to their talents and interests, for personal satisfaction and for the benefit of society.' (p. 4). For present purposes, this distinction is not useful, so the term *vocational guidance* is meant to incorporate both of the definitions cited. In those cases where an extended definition is meant, including choices and transitions affecting personal or social life, psychological problems, and such, the intention is made quite explicit. Also, guidance is meant to encompass a range of activities, methods, and materials which address various aspects of the processes defined. The methods may or may not include counseling. The principal differentiation between counseling and other guidance services is that counseling universally implies the facilitation of client self-understanding and self-direction, whereas the others may or may not imply this focus. Where counseling is meant to be included, that will also be explicitly indicated.

This monograph is intended for use by organizers, leaders, and supporters of guidance programs. Specialists such as teachers, school administrators, school counselors, counselor educators and trainers, employment counselors, and government officials should find this volume useful in helping them to think about what it is possible to do within the institutional structures where they work to make the developmental experiences of young people relevant to their preparation for and movement into employment. With this end in mind, the introductory chapter provides a conceptual framework for examining guidance practices as they relate to the transition from school to work. Then, in each of five succeeding chapters, current practice in each of five countries is described. In Chapter VII, these descriptions are brought together in order to permit direct examination of the similarities and differences among them. Unfortunately, there is an inherent risk, perhaps an inevitable one, in this kind of comparison. The danger is that comparison may be confused with evaluation, and the impression created that the most 'advanced' model is being advocated as a standard for others to emulate. Such is not the intention here. Quite the contrary. Proceeding on the knowledge that all guidance is uniquely anchored in the culture which spawns it, it is assumed that service providers can learn from one another irrespective of the relative level of sophistication of the programs they are

associated with.[1] Such reciprocal learning is precisely one of the purposes of this monograph. The chapter ends with an effort to point up some issues and persistent problems which raise questions needing attention in order to assure the continuing development of guidance services in the future.

The first appendix is a study guide. It provides a structure for thinking about various aspects of the programs described. Questions are raised to guide consideration of the suitability of adopting or modifying practices for use in other conditions and circumstances. Users are directed to think about several matters relating to the guidance services they offer: the assumptions they make; the developmental needs of the people they work with; the purposes which can be served by different kinds of services; and the outcomes they hope to achieve in making guidance services available. It is not intended to offer prescriptions for effective guidance services. The most effective vocational guidance services are those which take into account the prevailing values, cultural imperatives, and economic philosophies (see Bingham, 1976) of the localities and nations where they are offered. They must be designed and implemented by informed and committed professionals who are familiar with those local and national conditions. Outsiders may be helpful in guiding consideration of these matters, but they cannot sensibly make decisions about what ought to be done.

In the second appendix, some observations are made about the implications for training specialists who design and operate guidance services for young people.

Since a central purpose is to provoke critical thinking by users of this monograph about the creation and development of their own vocational guidance services, no attempt has been made to present exhaustive or complete descriptions of the guidance systems selected for analysis. Rather, the effort has been to highlight some major practices representative of a diverse cross-section of countries. Although exhaustiveness was not a concern, accuracy was. Thus, with one exception, authors were chosen because of their particular authoritative knowledge of the situations described. In the exception, the information was provided by appropriate authorities, though the actual writing was done by the editor. The responsibility for any inaccuracies is his. Again, with one exception, the authorities are, or have been in the recent past, residents of the respective countries. The exception is a scholar who had recently returned from an extended visit to the country he wrote about.

A primary dimension of diversity among the countries studied is technological development. The configuration of guidance is inextricably linked with, perhaps even determined by, prevailing technology. Certainly technology shapes the occupational structure and, in turn, the employment options available. Because of the accompanying phasing out of old occupations and the introduction of new ones, technology actually creates a need for guidance -- in some cases, where it never existed before. In effect, it unveils previously unknown occupational alternatives. Where technology is advanced and comfortably accepted as part of the everyday experience of most individuals, it may be woven into the fabric of guidance programs through the use of complex communication and data-transmission networks employing computers, television, other sophisticated audio-visual equipment, and photoduplication facilities. At the other extreme, where emerging technology touches the daily lives of few people and the need for guidance is just beginning to take shape, the two forces may require considerable time to develop separately before they learn to accommodate each other constructively.

The countries chosen for study -- Canada, Colombia, Greece, Côte d'Ivoire, and Taiwan of China -- span a broad range of difference in technological development, from wide implementation of highly advanced technology, through rapidly progressing technological change existing in reasonable harmony with ancient customs, to new and scattered technological applications which may create conflict with centuries-old tradition. The selected countries are also diverse in several other dimensions which, directly or indirectly, influence guidance offerings: natural resources, socio-cultural history,

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[1] Although this is not the place to debate the ramifications of this position, an illustration may help. When guidance becomes imbedded in complicated bureaucratic structures, as in some highly developed countries, certain procedures tend to be taken for granted. It is often easier for someone who has not "grown up in the system," so to speak, to recognise that some such procedures serve only institutional purposes and contribute nothing to the satisfaction of client needs.

population density, national wealth, topography, proximity to neighbors, international influence, and educational practices, to name a few. These additional diversities add to the inadvisability of making evaluative comparisons among the countries represented and underscore the purpose of using the material as a vehicle for learning from other people's experiences.

The resident authorities who provided data and/or wrote the chapters on individual countries deserve a particular note of recognition for contributing their own special competence to this enterprise. Each of them -- Mr. D. Stuart Conger of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, Prof. Tobias Hernando Olmos, President of the Colombian Association of Guidance Specialists and School Counselors (who provided materials for the chapter on Colombia), Mr. Jose Argemiro Laverde of the National Ministry of Education of Colombia (from whose work much of the information on Colombia was drawn), Mrs. Niki Tzavella of the Greek Manpower Employment Organization, and Miss Annie Perrier of the Mantes Information and Guidance Center in France -- set aside other important tasks in their busy schedules to produce materials for this volume on unreasonably short notice. Their willingness to cooperate under the circumstances is deeply appreciated. The same expression of appreciation goes to Dr. Martin Katz of the Educational Testing Service who agreed to contribute his expert views almost before unpacking his luggage on his return from a three-month study of guidance in Taiwan. In addition, Dr. Mary Ann Conover Jensen of Glassboro State College, Mr. Wilfredo Nieves of Essex County Community College, Dr. Jean J. Parrish of the Rutgers University Provost's Office, and Mrs. Virginia Record of the Rutgers University Foundation translated several essential documents. Without their willing assistance, and the time and other resources that their respective institutions permitted them to use, completion of the manuscript would have been impossible. Their help is also deeply appreciated, as is the support of the Rutgers University Research Council. A special note of thanks goes as well to Mrs. Carolyn McNinch who worked diligently to polish her newly acquired word-processing skills in order to type much of this manuscript with even more efficiency than usually characterizes her work. And to the Board of Directors of the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance, I wish to acknowledge gratefully the support and useful suggestions they offered throughout the course of developing and executing this project.

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CHAPTER I

A PERSPECTIVE ON TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

William C. Bingham

Almost invariably, statements of goals or objectives for both compulsory and voluntary education include reference in some form to preparing young people for entry into the world of work. Whether such statements are carefully and systematically elaborated or simply taken for granted, there is the ever-present expectation that schooling somehow serves as a proving ground for whatever job placement is likely to follow. Some thinkers, in fact, have gone so far as to argue that assuring an adequately prepared work force is the only justification for state-supported education. In the face of such general acceptance of this kind of relationship between school and work, there is a temptation to believe that examining the linkages between the two, and how people move from one to the other, would be a relatively simple matter. This proves not to be the case.

From the beginning, it is eminently clear that even the vocabulary can be troublesome because different circumstances lend different connotations to the words used. Beyond that confusion, though, there is a more fundamental complexity in that the words are used to represent very discrepant concepts. This chapter begins, therefore, with an effort to sort out some of the varying implications of two points of focus in the term transition from school to work: work and transition. The next step is to review some of the problems that need attention as young people move out of school and into employment. The difficulties associated with data collection across cultures will also be discussed, and some cautions suggested. A major portion of the chapter is devoted to delineation of the guidelines which were used to organize the data presented in the chapters about the individual countries which are considered in the analysis.

Definitions and conceptions of basic terms

Because guidance specialists who engage in international professional activities often encounter difficulty with the translation of technical terms from one language into another, the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance has published a glossary (see IAEVG, 1981) of such terms in the official languages of the association (French, German, and English). Neither of the terms of interest in the present context is treated in that glossary. A number of words related to *work* appear: worker, job, occupation, profession, and vocation, but not work. The term *transition* does not occur at all. As has been noted in other reviews of technical language usage (see Super, 1976), even scholars may fail to define important terms. The likely reason for the oversight is that writers probably accept their own unspecified definitions and assume that readers will do the same. To avoid possible confusion in this regard it makes sense to take a closer look at how the terms are actually used.

Definitions of work

Work has been defined in many different ways (see Super, 1957). Often the variations are associated with the academic specialty of the writer such that economists, sociologists, and psychologists may emphasize distinctive aspects of work. As has been elaborated elsewhere (Bingham, 1979), the way the term is defined has a direct bearing on what is meant by transition from school to work, so a clear understanding of meaning is needed. A purely economic definition is that work is paid employment. To avoid the restrictiveness imposed by this simplified definition, some specialists, particularly psychologists, have proposed expanded definitions in order that a variety of unpaid activities might be counted as work. An illustration appears in a position paper published

jointly in the United States by the American Vocational Association and the National Vocational Guidance Association (AVA-NVGA, 1973), which reads: 'Work may be defined as any expenditure of effort designed to effect some change, however slight, in some province of civilization. It is not simply an arbitrary or gratuitous action, but something which, from some viewpoint within society, *ought* to be done.' Thus, work is viewed as not exclusively a matter of paid employment, but includes as well, a variety of other activities which, though unpaid, lead to individual or societal improvement.

While the former definition is too restrictive for present purposes, the latter is too expansive. In the context of this monograph, a definition which strikes some middle ground between the other two is most functional: work is paid employment, but it also offers opportunities for workers to implement important personal attributes and derive psychological rewards, and at the same time, to contribute something to the benefit of society. This definition is not entirely satisfactory, but it serves well enough for the present. Possible modifications will be considered in a later section.

Conceptions of transition

Transition, as a term, presents no particular difficulty with definition. As it is relevant to the present analysis, most dictionaries define it as a passage from either one state (or role) to another, or one stage of development to another. Both of these uses are applicable in the context of vocational guidance designed to assist people with the transition from school to work, and both appear frequently in the guidance literature. Although one of them occurs more frequently in discussions of manifest role behaviors and the other more frequently in discussions of intrapsychic processes, the two usages are by no means mutually exclusive. They interact in significant ways. In the United States, for example, very obvious role changes often coincide with life-stage progressions, as when retirement from paid employment marks the transition from Super's (1957) maintenance stage into the disengagement stage, or termination of formal education marks transition between the specification and implementation substages of exploration. Other role changes occur, however, quite independently of developmental stage progression. Disability or unanticipated loss of employment, for example, can have an immediate effect on role status and is unlikely to be associated with transition from one developmental stage to another. Even though role change and stage progression are not directly linked in such cases, they do interact. Individuals' progress through developmental stages -- their vocational maturity -- can affect the manner in which they respond to the sudden change. When role change and stage progression do coincide, the term *transition* may refer to either or both processes; when the events are not coincident, the reference is usually to the role change.

In developmental formulations of vocational behavior, both forms of transition are of interest. Super (1957), for example introduced the notion of stage progression into the theory of vocational behavior. An important concept in his formulation of vocational maturity is people's readiness to cope, as they progress from one stage to another, with the new demands that they will face. In his later elaboration of the theory (1980), using what he calls the career rainbow, he gives very explicit attention to changing roles over the life span. In his treatment of both processes, it is clear that intrapsychic phenomena play a significant part in determining an individual's response to role change, irrespective of its coincidence with progression from one stage to the next. Whether coincidental occurrence of role-change and stage-progression transitions can be attributed to the foresight of the designers of social structures, or is simply a matter of chance, is not entirely clear. On occasion, it has been speculated (e. g., Reuchlin, 1964) that the demands of the social system may serve to accelerate readiness to progress from one developmental stage to another. Certainly the demands of institutional structures such as schools and workplaces impose the need for individuals to accommodate, but whether they assure the readiness to do so in a constructive fashion is another question. Guidance specialists frequently encounter clients who are psychologically unready to face the demands of transitions. Helping young people to master the skills and attitudes needed to respond effectively to such circumstances is one of the challenges that guidance counselors confront on almost a daily basis.

It is not the purpose of this monograph to deal in depth with developmental progression through the life stages. Such progression, however, is not irrelevant to the task at hand. The obvious focus is on the events of transition, namely the change of role

from student to worker. The underlying psychological and developmental processes, however, require attention by guidance workers if their interventions are to be effective. Therefore, for present purposes, *transition* identifies the event of moving from the role of student to that of worker, but implies in addition that attention must be addressed to the psychological processes that permit a person to manage that transition effectively.

Transition as a process

One additional point about the conceptualization of transition needs clarification. Obviously, it is possible to conceive of any transition as an isolated event. Regarding the transition from school to work in this way, however, places those who attempt to design and execute guidance interventions at a distinct disadvantage. Readiness to deal effectively with the role change requires the mastery of a range of prerequisite skills and attitudes. Attempting to impart those essential learnings only at the point of transition is likely to lead to bewilderment on the part of clients and frustration on the part of professionals. In order to increase the possibility of successful mastery of the necessary skills and attitudes, the transition must be understood, at the very least, as a sequence of events that occurs over an extended period of time. In this conceptualization it is possible to anticipate the needs and make provision for acquiring the skills and attitudes along the way.

A number of formulations make provision for regarding transition in this manner. Some of them are quite elaborate and comprehensive, especially those developed within the context of career education in the United States. Readers who may be interested in examining detailed presentations are referred to Herr and Cramer (1972) and Gysbers and Moore (1974). For the present focus, a simpler formulation will serve better. It was developed in the United Kingdom by Law and Watts (1977), but its applicability is considerably broader.

The Law and Watts formulation encompasses four broad areas of goals: self-awareness, opportunity awareness, decision learning, and transition learning. Transition learning is seen as the students' 'gaining a realistic appreciation of the environment into which (they) are moving . . . and becoming equipped with the coping skills needed to accomplish this transition appropriately and successfully.' (Watts, 1978, p. 26). In effect, transition learning anchors the tasks of self-awareness, opportunities awareness, and decision learning in future realities and helps the students to implement their decisions. This formulation suggests (as does Reubens, 1981) that transition involves a period of time before students leave school and after they begin work. Ideally, guidance should be available to all students who need assistance throughout this period of preparation for and adjustment to employment.

Problems of transition

Identifying the problems encountered in the transition from school to work is basic to wise construction of guidance programmes. What is seen as constituting a problem, however, depends on how fundamental issues are resolved. For example: Should assistance be available to all people or only to those who are identified as 'at risk'? Should services be offered irrespective of labor market conditions or only at times of unusual stress, such as high unemployment or accelerating change in occupational structure? Should the goals of assistance address only immediate needs of clients or long-term needs as well? Which position a particular society takes on issues such as these will determine the resources allocated to guidance services, and as a consequence, influence both the quality and quantity of whatever guidance is provided. The decisions that programme operators make about how to use the resources they have should be concerned about who their clients will be and what problems those clients face in the transition from school to work.

Where adequate resources are available and accepted philosophy supports the idea, guidance services for transition may be designed for all students. In cases where the resources are less than adequate to serve all comers, even though the philosophy may support doing so, programme operators are likely to choose to expend their resources in helping those whose need is greatest. In her review of efforts to ease young people's transition from school to work, Reubens (1981) identified a number of problems that occur commonly in Europe: leaving school before completing secondary education or obtaining

some sort of employment credentials; inadequate preparation in the basic competencies required in working life; inadequate knowledge of the structure and organization of the working world; insufficient or overspecialized vocational training. All of these are likely to occur in any society. Those young people who are unready, in these respects, for the transition from school to work are probably the ones who need the most guidance.

Data collection difficulties

Because guidance is so intricately interwoven with the culture in which it resides, it is inevitable that philosophical and socioeconomic differences will dictate differences in the assumptions underlying guidance programmes. Relatively simple data, such as typical school-leaving age and rates of unemployment may mean very different things in different countries. In technologically advanced countries, where guidance programmes have been in place for decades, many kinds of demographic data are readily accessible. Where guidance programmes are just beginning to emerge, data are likely to be scarce. Where accountability is a well established practice, the need for documentation of effective performance may be taken for granted. Where the value of guidance has been only recently identified, the need for documentation of performance may have received nothing more than a passing acknowledgment.

As a consequence of these and other differences, authors of the chapters which follow have had very different tasks. For some it was necessary to sift through masses of data and decide which kinds are really suitable for the present analysis. For others, all of the accessible data may be insufficient. For all of them, the limits of space made it impossible to represent all internal diversities, so regional and local differences within the respective countries may not always be clear. Even where data appear on the surface to be comparable, caution is in order because of subtle differences that may be obscured by the form in which the data are presented. It is important for users of this monograph to keep these points in mind in their efforts to learn from its contents.

Guidelines for authors

In spite of the inherent difficulties in obtaining parallel data on all of the countries, an effort was made to structure the presentations so that some uniformity in general concepts would permit useful discussion of the basic ideas. It was assumed that the differences between countries within the general ideas would provide users with the opportunity to examine a number of different practices and formulations in considering alternative ways of thinking about their own programmes and what they are trying to accomplish.

With this purpose in mind, authors were provided with a set of guidelines organized around three categories: overview of the country, analysis of the guidance services offered in the country, and suggestions for improvement.

Overview

The overview was intended to set a broad context which would help to put the data of the ensuing sections in perspective. A brief description of important demographic features and a short history of educational and vocational guidance services were regarded as a necessary backdrop for what followed. Current guidance practices were also seen as a necessary part of the overview, so authors were asked to describe them in general terms. The content of this section also provides a quick reference for estimating the broad differences among the several cultures represented in this study.

Analysis

Since the preparation of this part of the chapter relied heavily on the individual authors to make the fullest use of their own particular expertise, they were given considerable latitude in the treatment of the content. They were encouraged, however, to follow to the extent possible the suggestions of Watts (1981). The reason, once again, was to maintain some semblance of uniformity across countries, so authors were asked to use the Watts suggestions as a basic organizing structure, not as a rigid outline, for reporting their observations.

The authors' guidelines organized the Watts suggestions into three categories: conceptual framework, guidance structure, and guidance functions.

Conceptual framework. Probably, an almost infinite number of possible justifications for guidance can be generated. At one extreme, the underlying framework may be theoretical and focus primarily on the developmental needs of people. At the opposite end of the spectrum of possibilities, the primary rationale may be purely economic and attend exclusively to the emerging needs of an expanding economy. In actual practice, it is likely that all programmes have a variety of social, economic, scholarly, and philosophical forces involved in shaping their reasons for being. It is necessary to understand what those forces are in order to make judgments as to whether the practices are transferable to a different locale.

Guidance structure. In part, the way guidance is structured grows directly out of the conceptual framework, but within similar frameworks, dissimilar priorities can be invoked. The structure offers a basis for inferring priorities even though they are not explicitly articulated. Sometimes, priorities inferred by this means will appear to differ from the formally expressed ones. Without passing judgment on the discrepancy between the manifest and expressed priorities, it can be seen that merely the existence of the discrepancy provides an important kind of information as to what is likely to be accomplished by the guidance services.

One aspect of the structure that warrants attention is the client *roles* which are addressed. In the presence of unlimited resources, a programme may indeed address all of the life roles identified in Super's (1980) career rainbow, and perhaps additional ones. Since such bountiful resources are seldom available, however, it is more realistic to assume that some choices will have to be made. A programme which attends primarily to the student role in preparing for transition from school to work will necessarily be quite different from one which attends exclusively to the worker role in adapting to employment or the search for it.

As indicated earlier, programmes may also differ in terms of the specific *target groups* to which they assign priority. Even within a programme intended to serve all students, special target groups may be identified for whom particular interventions are designed. In recent decades, particularly, expressly tailored services have been developed for minorities, females, physically and mentally disabled students, substance abusers, immigrants, and other special needs groups. Unemployed youth have been an intensive focus of concern in countries experiencing increased birth rates and economic recession at the same time. In the face of limited resources, a commitment to serve the unique needs of any specified target group inevitably diminishes the resources which can be extended to clientele generally.

Since the focus in this study is on the transition from school to work, at least an important part of the *organizational base* for guidance services is the schools. But in some systems, the school's responsibility for the welfare of students ends explicitly at termination of formal education. Whether or not service is available beyond that point is an important consideration. Who actually delivers the service, of course, is equally important. Guidance beyond school-leaving has been offered in the United States, for example, by government agencies (largely, though not exclusively, the Department of Labor and its subdivisions), nonprofit social organizations, industry itself, and even entrepreneurs. Since each of these enterprises responds to different motives, the impact of the service on recipients can vary considerably.

The nature of service is likely to be affected directly by the level and quality of preparation that guidance workers and counselors receive and the extent to which they are prepared as specialists. Various models of preparation serve well enough in providing services in particular circumstances and each ought to be evaluated in its own right. Whether guidance is delivered by teachers with a few hours of special training, former victims of a particular malady (as addicts or alcoholics) who have had some carefully supervised on-the-job training, or counselors with two years of advanced study beyond the baccalaureate degree ought to make a difference in what guidance workers do, the effect they have on clients, and the independence with which they function. Hence, the *staffing policies* employed are of concern.

Guidance functions. Watts distinguished six guidance functions that he regarded as useful. It seems reasonable to expect that all of them, in some degree of sophistication or another, whether designated as such or not, are employed in virtually all guidance

programmes. They are: information, assessment, advice, careers education, counseling, and enabling.

Information is basic to guidance. It is hard to imagine a guidance programme which does not incorporate information. It may be highly systematized and conveniently available as it is in some highly technologically developed countries with complex occupational structures and relatively fluid work forces. Or it may be only casual and informal. It may be produced by government agencies, special interest groups, professional societies, and commercial publishers, as it is in some Western European and North American countries. It may be nothing more than what a prospective helper has to offer from personal knowledge. Some information always exists. Although it may be insufficient, possibly non-representative, and perhaps even inaccurate, it is information, and its use influences decisions.

Simply, *assessment* is making a diagnostic judgment about a client's suitability for various options. It may or may not incorporate sophisticated instruments such as aptitude tests and interest inventories. In either case, in the end its efficacy rests on the accuracy of the intervener's perceptions of the occupational alternatives into which the client's attributes and aspirations may be fitted. As with information, its impact on decision making can be great.

Giving *advice* -- recommending courses of action perceived to be suited to someone else's needs -- is so ubiquitous that many languages have adages about its low cost, ready availability, and general uselessness. In the hands of an expert, of course, advice does not have to be useless. The function it serves in guidance, however, may depend on what assumptions are made about self-direction. Where self-direction is valued, advice is certainly eschewed more than it is in circumstances where self-direction is not ordinarily perceived as a reasonable option. Precisely because of the assumptions made about self-direction, in many approaches to counseling, advice is never advocated. Counselors willingly accept the assumptions, are trained to avoid giving advice, and work assiduously not to do so. Yet, when they encounter a client who is unready to accept self- direction, the temptation to revert to advice-giving can be keen. Where advice is thought to have a constructive purpose in guidance, it needs to be examined carefully and understood so it can be used effectively.

Watts used the term *careers education* to identify one of the guidance functions he discussed. For purposes of this monograph, it seemed to make sense to broaden the term to education. The intention is not to distort what Watts proposed, or even to change it, but rather to acknowledge that what is called career education in the United States and Canada and careers education in the United Kingdom has not been universally adopted. Some of the goals of the British and North American formulations can be accomplished in general education, in any event. Use of the broader term is meant to include vocational education and training, which is not always clearly the case with references to career education, at least not in the United States. The sense of what Watts intended remains intact in that education here applies to providing programmes 'of planned experiences designed to develop in clients the skills, concepts, and knowledge they need to make career choices and transitions.' (Watts, 1981, p. 20).

Counseling is the most expensive, and perhaps the most difficult, guidance function to implement. Its avowed purpose of assisting clients to identify and express their own needs and, in turn, to relate them to the alternatives under consideration is very time-consuming, probably demands more skill than other functions, and requires special facilities -- at least to the extent of assuring privacy. In general, it also requires more extended training than other functions. Just as it is demanding of counselors, it is demanding of clients, as well. In order for counseling to proceed efficiently, it is necessary that clients engage the process willingly, and it is desirable that they be informed about alternatives under consideration, have mastered the conceptual vocabulary that permits knowledgeable exploration of options, have had some related experiences, and know how to make decisions. All of these learnings, of course, can be integrated into the process of counseling, but doing so consumes additional time. Over the long term, this function will probably operate more effectively if the preliminary learnings are taken care of in the other guidance functions. Many such learnings can occur quite satisfactorily in groups. Attending to individual instruction during the course of counseling is quite inefficient.

Watts used *enabling* to refer to helping individuals to implement their choices, that is, manage the actual event of transition. Presumably, if all of the previous functions are

conducted at maximum effectiveness, then enabling should be relatively smooth. Since maximum effectiveness is not a dependable outcome, it can be expected that at least some clients will need special attention at the point of transition no matter how good the rest of the system is. When the rest of the system does operate effectively, however, transition will be eased for many clients. Some of them will move into employment with minimal assistance. Then, remaining resources can be dedicated to those who need further assistance, increasing the number who negotiate the transition with comfort and success.

Conclusions and suggestions for improvement

Authors were asked to take a brief look into the future and attempt to make some evaluative judgments about the guidance services on which they reported. On the basis of those judgments, they were invited to suggest changes that might be implemented, primarily over the short term, assuming that sufficient resources would be forthcoming. The assumption about sufficient resources, of course, opens the door to idealized projections, but that was intentional. Programme operators ought to, from time to time, remind themselves of what they believe could be accomplished if they had the necessary wherewithal. An exercise of this type achieves at least two purposes: it forces reflection about those services which are not being offered but might be, thus directing attention to evaluation of performance; also, it helps to recall longer-range goals which are so easily lost sight of in the press of everyday activities.

Thinking about long-range goals, at least periodically, can help to maintain a useful perspective on what the daily work means. It can be reassuring to remember that meaning when the frustrations of the moment approach overwhelming proportions. Reflecting on the evaluation called to mind is important, of course, but actually engaging in it is even moreso. There are three reasons (Katz, 1971) why we need to evaluate guidance services: to know whether what we do is being done well; to serve as role models in decision making; and to generate data that will persuade those in control of our budgets that our services are worth supporting.

Probably, producing this part of their respective chapters led the authors through some of the steps described in the preceding paragraphs. Perhaps reading and reflecting upon their efforts will lead users of the monograph in the same direction.

CHAPTER II

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE SERVICES FOR TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK IN CANADA

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Canada is a federation of ten provinces and two northern territories. It is a geographically large country comprised of diverse cultural groups. As the third largest country in the world it has an area of 10 million square kilometers, or 2 1/2 persons per square kilometer. The population of 25.6 million is composed of people who speak various "first" languages: 15 million, English; 6 million, French; 2.5 million, another European tongue; 550,000 an Asian language; 150,000, a North American Indian or Inuit language (of which there are 14).

The occupational structure of the labor force is primarily "white collar," as shown by the following data:

Managerial, Professional	3,098,000
Clerical	1,848,000
Sales	1,016,000
Service	1,477,000
Primary occupations	556,000
Processing	1,488,000
Transportation	409,000
Construction	498,000
Materials handling and other crafts	383,000

The average unemployment rate for the country is 10 per cent, but it is 16 per cent for youth aged 15 to 24.

As a relatively new country, Canada readily adopted universal education. The Federal and provincial (or territorial) governments serve different functions in the delivery of career guidance services. The provinces and territories have absolute authority to determine what educational services will be offered and how they will be delivered, including the provision of vocational guidance in schools. This autonomy is illustrated by two facts: compulsory education varies, from province to province, from 11 to 13 years of schooling; in some provinces education is provided mainly by denominational schools, in others primarily by nondenominational schools.

The national employment service was created in the early 1940s. Although there is no law that explicitly establishes employment counseling as a part of the employment service, it is deemed that such a service is necessary to ensure equality of access to employment opportunities. However, the service did not give much attention to counseling until some 20 years after it was established, and it was an additional 10 years before it became active in promoting the development of vocational guidance in schools and other agencies.

Counseling and guidance as a separate function of specialized personnel also first made its appearance in the schools in a significant way in the early 1940s. It is now a feature of almost every secondary school and many elementary schools as well. In spite of this broad implementation, however, it continues to be a subject of much ambivalence on the part of school administrators and the public. There seem to be two dimensions to this ambivalence: (1) because of the private and confidential nature of counseling, it (especially its non-directive focus) is not well understood; and (2) in general, administrators and parents contend that guidance personnel should emphasize vocational

guidance, but when crises arise (around drugs, vandalism, or truancy, for example) they want the counseling to focus on these personal-social problems

School counselors are trained in the faculties of education of universities. Although the federal department of employment and immigration and the provincial departments of education have all called for more emphasis on vocational counseling in these programmes, the universities prefer to offer more general training for counselors. Since each province sets standards for training requirements, there is no standardization of preparation, and only a few courses are related directly to career guidance. In no more than three provinces is a master's degree in counseling expected. Nonetheless, there is a growing trend to offer credit courses in life career planning in the secondary schools.

When students leave school and enter the labor market they move from provincial jurisdiction, the schools, to federal jurisdiction, Canada Employment Centers (CECs). These are the prime agency responsible for helping school leavers to find jobs, although, there are private employment agencies which generally charge (employers, not workers) a fee. Many universities and colleges have a CEC on campus to help students get summer jobs as well as employment on graduation. The provinces, however, retain jurisdiction over occupational qualifications, usually through their departments of labor. The transition from school to work is complicated by this change of jurisdictions. Apprenticeship programmes, for example, which attract about 10 per cent of school leavers, seldom receive trainees directly from the educational system. In general, workers who enter apprenticeship programmes do so after having been in the labor market for about three years.

Historically, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission has been concerned that its manpower training scheme, with its paid training allowances, might encourage high school students to quit school prematurely. Therefore, it imposed a rule preventing youth who were in the labor force for less than one year from gaining admission to the National Training Programme. This practice added to the difficulties of youth entering the labor market because it closed access to assistance in developing marketable skills. In a recent review of all programmes intended to assist workers to adapt to labor market conditions, it has been recommended that this rule be abandoned. The new plans, which are currently under discussion, include much more flexible services to youth having difficulty with the transition from school to work. To be eligible they will have to be out of school for only three months. Besides a training allowance, the new assistance will include classroom training, on the job training, and work experience in a mixture customized for each individual. It is expected that over 50,000 youth will be enrolled in this programme in the first year.

Modification of vocational guidance services in the schools may also be in the offing. A public debate on the matter began in the late 1970s when the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Home and School Association/Parent-Teachers Association called on education authorities to strengthen vocational guidance services in schools. In 1982 the Canadian Guidance and Counseling Association issued a position paper calling for greater support for counseling services in general and vocational guidance services in particular. These public demands reinforce moves already underway within departments of education. The combined efforts should lead to useful reforms.

CANADA EMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

Although the federal government has no direct involvement in the country's educational systems, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) does operate Canada Employment Centers (CECs) that provide vocational counseling to youth and adults who are in, or planning to enter, the labor market. CECs do not provide vocational guidance in the schools as this is deemed a matter of provincial responsibility. CEIC, however, has actively promoted the development of vocational guidance in schools and provides some related materials.

Organization

CEIC was established by the government of Canada to develop and administer employment, immigration, and unemployment insurance programmes and services. At its headquarters in Hull, Quebec, it develops the training programme for its employment counselors, tools and materials used in counseling, and a system for evaluating counseling. It also develops

materials and guidelines for employment transition programmes, including adult training, work experience, youth training, and job creation.

There is a regional headquarters in each of the ten provinces which is responsible for the operation of the CECs in that area. A large office has four divisions -- unemployment insurance, employment services, administrative services, and investigation and control -- and perhaps 275 employees, about 30 of whom would be counselors. A mid-sized office might have 80 employees and 9 counselors, whereas a small office of 18 employees in a rural community might have 4 counselors.

Staff training

The people who work as employment counselors do not necessarily have professional training in vocational counseling prior to assuming their responsibilities. For this reason substantial inservice competency-based education has been designed and implemented, including courses in assessment interviewing, individual counseling, career planning, psychological test interpretation, group counseling, counseling special needs clients, job placement, and community resources. The entire programme is equivalent to approximately one full year of university training.

Occupational information and materials

CEIC has produced a variety of materials related to occupational information, generic occupational skills, and life skills training (See Appendix C).

Occupational information

Occupational information is a vital component of guidance programmes, and although CEIC believes that the information is most useful when incorporated into a guidance programme, it is also made available directly to clients. CEIC develops and distributes several forms of occupational information:

Careers Canada is a series of 36 booklets, each describing a family of occupations.

Careers Provinces is a series of about 600 fact sheets providing a wide range of detailed information on many occupations for each province.

Choices is an interactive computer programme providing information on occupations and post-secondary educational and training programmes.

College and University Programmes in Canada is a catalog of post-secondary programmes arranged by institution and field of study.

Moving On is an individualized career planning and job search programme for youth.

Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations provides descriptions of 6,700 occupations in Canada.

Compass is an interactive computer programme that provides information on job search techniques and related topics.

Occupational Forecasts are being developed in collaboration with the provinces and private industry.

Generic occupational skills

Generally the courses offered through apprenticeship and the National Training Programme are occupation-specific as are most occupationally oriented courses in the educational system. At policy levels, CEIC and provincial departments of education and of labor have expressed much interest in generic occupational skills which are transferable across occupations. In this connection, two projects of occupational analysis have been undertaken: *Generic Skills* has analyzed the skills of a wide variety of occupations in

terms of mathematics, communications, reasoning, science, and tool-usage skills required. A hierarchy of core and secondary skills has been proposed for vocational curricula. Reports from this study have provoked much discussion, further local studies, and a number of experiments in revised curricula; *Jobscan* analyzes the skills of all skilled and semiskilled occupations in order to propose revised curricula, refer people to jobs that require similar skills (though on the surface they appear different), to layout inter-occupational mobility paths, and to provide a classification of occupations superior to that now available in the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations.

Life skills training

Life skills refers to problem-solving behaviors applied appropriately and responsibly in the management of one's own life. Many youth need help in developing such skills, and CEIC has produced course materials for group guidance in life skills training. The intention, however, is that the group sessions be conducted by other agencies, so CEIC makes the materials available for use in a variety of settings, including the National Training Programme.

Canada Employment Centers

As already indicated, CECs are the principal instrument for delivering services directly to clients. All people in the labor market or planning to enter it are eligible for employment counseling if they want and need it. So-called "target groups" (youth, women, refugees, Indians) receive no special priority attention, although specialized employment centers and outreach projects have been established for these target populations in many centers. As with all clients, their treatment is agreed upon in the needs determination interview. Perhaps the best way to describe the services offered is to proceed through the sequence as a client might actually experience it.

Needs determination

A client coming into a CEC usually proceeds immediately to the "jobs board" to see what vacancies are available. In accordance with current procedures, he or she then receives a short needs determination interview to identify what other services are appropriate. As a result of this interview, the client is referred for possible selection into the National Training Programme, to an employment counselor, or directly to an employer.

Assessment

If the referral arising from the needs determination interview is for either training or counseling, the next step is assessment. A client referred for training will be assessed and referred to a training officer for a screening interview. A client referred for counseling, in addition to the assessment, is assisted in identifying and making a commitment to a counseling goal or an action plan for effective placement.

Two psychological tests have been approved for use in CECs: the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) and the Canadian Occupational Interest Inventory (COII). They are used to help clients clarify occupational goals or to link their aptitudes and interests to occupational alternatives. Some clients may be invited to use *Place*, a set of booklets designed to assess employability and development.

The GATB was developed by the United States Employment Service and has been the subject of over 1,000 validation studies. CEIC has produced a version which requires no knowledge of the imperial measurement system and standardized it in French and English. It is considered suitable for use with English- or French-speaking people, but not recommended for others. The COII is a much newer test developed by CEIC. Accummulating evidence indicates that it is acceptable as a measure of vocational interests. Some new assessment instruments are under development for use with adults: a test of moderate learning disabilities, and tests of academic achievement in mathematics, English, and French.

Employment counseling

Employment counseling is defined as the process of helping a person to develop an appropriate occupational goal and identify the steps needed to achieve it (including further training, learning new attitudes and behaviors, and learning job search skills) in order to become autonomous in the labor market.

Counseling ordinarily commences with a review of the counseling goal established by the client and counselor in the assessment interview. A discussion follows to confirm the client's commitment to the goal and to counseling, and a contract is then drawn up specifying what is expected of both client and counselor. As a rule, one of three general strategies is employed:

decision making involves the client in generating alternatives, identifying personal factors (e. g., values, interests, aspirations, expectations) that are important in making the decision, locating and accumulating relevant information, evaluating alternatives, making a tentative choice, and planning strategies for carrying out the decision;

learning strategy involves the client in identifying the exact behavior to be learned, selecting the appropriate mode, structuring observation, identifying responses needing practice, practicing, planning between-session practice, and evaluating performance; the counselor reinforces progress and provides constructive comments;

self-management, involves the client in setting up a self-management plan and sequencing learning steps; the counselor encourages the client to assume increasing control and provides monitoring and feedback.

Placement

If employment counseling terminates in a recommendation for placement, then the counselor is responsible for assisting the client with placement efforts. Some clients may be referred directly to employers, some may be given general instruction about how to conduct a job search, and others may be referred to one of the group programmes described in the next section.

Group guidance

The broadest use of group guidance in CECs has been in helping youth to learn how to conduct a successful job search. It is assumed that if people are to become autonomous in the labor market, they cannot depend on CECs to find jobs for them, but rather have to become proficient at finding their own jobs. To aid them in this task, many CECs conduct two kinds of groups: a three-hour seminar on *Creative Job Search Techniques* and *Job Finding Clubs* which usually last three weeks. Clients are referred to one or the other depending on the need for assistance. Both provide peer support, of course, but the Job Finding Clubs also offer material support in the form of a meeting room, typing and photocopy services, and use of a telephone, all under the supervision of a counselor. Typically, by the end of three weeks, about 80 per cent of the clients find employment. CEIC provides training and materials to many community social and rehabilitation agencies for conducting Job Finding Clubs. CECs conduct Creative Job Search Techniques seminars more frequently than Job Finding Clubs.

Operating difficulties

The CECs which offer the services described are also responsible for operating a labor exchange, selecting trainees and paying their salaries, and administering the unemployment insurance scheme and a variety of job creation activities. This arrangement has the advantage that counselors are well acquainted with the broad spectrum of human resource development programmes for out of school youth and adults. It has the disadvantage, though, that office managers, who are responsible for the entire range of programmes, have the authority to move counselors from one service to another whenever they deem it necessary. Consequently, counseling functions may suffer when other operations are in need of attention.

Besides occasionaiiy losing counselors to other services in the CEC offices, there are additional operating problems in the system regarding the availability of properly trained counselors, lack of commitment to counseling on the part of some CEC managers, and insufficient resources. Inservice competency- based training has improved the qualifications of counselors, and mounting evidence of effectiveness plus policy directives are helping to overcome the resistance of managers. However, there are not enough counselors, and they seldom have the privacy that counseling really demands. The expanding use of both computers and group activities, in one sense, increases effectiveness because a greater number of clients can be reached. But, in another sense, it complicates the problem because both have the potential to increase the demand for individual counseling. Because of existing unemployment rates, the demand for service is already enormous. Clearly, additional resources will be needed to meet the growing pressure to provide more and better quality services.

THE PROVINCES

As already stated, Canada is a large and diverse country. Its topography and climate vary widely, and population density is unevenly distributed. For these reasons, in addition to provincial authority over education, it is useful to attend to some provincial differences regarding the education that bears on the transition from school to work. To highlight some of their distinctive qualities, four have been singled out: Newfoundland and Labrador, Quebec, Ontario, and Alberta. A brief overview of provincial programmes in general will set the context for considering the the individual provinces.

Overview of provincial guidance services

By and large, the provinces have fairly well developed guidance services, but as indicated above, they generally do not attend to vocational guidance as much as to personal and social guidance. Recent initiatives by provincial departments of education, principally statements of policy and guidelines for implementation, have begun to produce noteworthy improvements. In some municipalities, school boards have hired guidance experts to serve as consultants to local schools to assist with the implementation of guidelines. In others, especially larger cities, the local school boards are operating specialized services such as vocational assessment centers, counseling centers for out-of-school youth, or placement offices.

The Canadian educational system is not highly structured in terms of specialized curriculum streams. The academic stream, preparing students for university entrance, is by far the largest. Typically, a technical or commercial stream can be followed by students who wish to enter skilled trades in those areas. Selection of a stream is left largely to students. For the most part, educational counseling attends to students who plan to go to university rather than those who aspire to occupations requiring less extensive education.

Some of the reasons that school counselors offer for not attending more to vocational guidance include their heavy work loads and their lack of specific preparation. In part for these reasons, a number of activities have been adopted precisely because they appear to make little demand on the counselor's time. Peer counseling (see Carr, 1984) has been introduced and its popularity seems to be growing. Approximately 30 per cent of all schools have installed computer-assisted guidance services, usually Choices or Student Guidance Information System (SGIS), frequently both. Guidance, or career development, courses have been implemented.

Guidance courses have another distinct advantage: they reach all students. The offering of such courses has become fairly wide-spread. Although there are substantial differences in content and considerable differences in resources available across provinces, most of them have objectives which fall into the goal categories proposed by Law and Watts (1977). They attend to self-awareness through a variety of exercises that encourage students to examine their personal and work values, and by providing assessment data about students' aptitudes, interests, and other characteristics. They address opportunity awareness by providing occupational information and giving instruction about how to gather it, evaluate it, and use it wisely. Instruction in decision making is included.

Since this analysis deals with transition from school to work, transition learnings will be discussed in detail in the following comparison among the four selected provinces.

Comparison of the provinces

Because space does not permit a full comparison of all dimensions of guidance programmes offered in the Canadian provinces, this comparison highlights differences among the four selected provinces in terms of experiences that relate directly to the transition from school to work. See Table 1 for a quick reference to some of the relevant data.

Newfoundland and Labrador

Newfoundland and Labrador is the rugged most easterly part of the country with a population of 575,000. It is dependent largely on fishing and other primary industries. The general unemployment rate is 19 per cent, 28 per cent for youth. Schools are operated by six religious denominations: Anglican, Roman Catholic, Salvation Army, United Church, Seventh Day Adventists, and Pentacostal.

The guidance course is called "Creating a Career." Two distinct sections deal with career planning and job search. The job search section is more directly related to transition and actually includes some transitional experiences.

In an effort to dispel the myth that jobs do not exist, students are exposed to labor force data which they use to examine reasons for job openings. They review methods of job search and get acquainted with public and private employment services. So they understand the inadvisability of indiscriminate job applications, students compile an inventory of personal attributes, canvass employers, look at employer expectations, their own expectations of work, and investigate jobs and prospective employers. They actually apply for jobs, including the preparation of resumes, cover letters, and letters of application. They also apply by telephone. All of these last activities grow out of classroom experiences, but they put students who are still in school into direct contact with real employers.

Table 1

Comparison of Provinces on Selected Dimensions

Dimension	Newfoundland and Labrador	Quebec	Ontario	Alberta
Population	575,000	6,400,000	8,700,000	2,250,000
Predominant Industry	Fishing	Diversified	Diversified	Petrochemical
Unemployment				
Total	19 %	11 %	8 %	9 %
Youth	28 %	17 %	12 %	14 %
Schools	Six religious denominations	Roman Catholic & Protestant	Public and Roman Catholic	Predominantly public
Language of Instruction	English	Predominantly French	Predominantly English	English
Grades in school System	12	11	13	12
Grades of Guidance Course				
Required (a)	none	7 - 11	7 - 8	7 - 9
Optional (b)	7 - 12		7 - 13	10 - 12

(a) Specific requirements: Quebec, 1 hr/week, all grades;
Ontario, 20 hrs each, gr. 7 & 8;
Alberta, life-careers components included in required health course.

(b) Only secondary offerings indicated.

What is most important, students actually obtain real jobs through a province-wide network of work experiences designed to help them learn the skills and knowledge required at work. The work occurs at three levels: exploratory work experience -- to observe and sample systematically a variety of conditions that may be suited to one's aptitudes, interests, and temperament; general work experience -- to acquire desirable work habits and attitudes and learn general vocational skills; and vocational work experience -- to extend vocational skills in an occupational area related to preparation in school. Through each of these, emphasis is placed on assuming responsibility, developing mature self-concepts, and working effectively with others. Parents, employers, and school personnel, as well as the students, participate in the planning, supervision, and evaluation of the experiences. The entire programme is closely coordinated with the guidance office, and all placements need to be approved by a school counselor.

Quebec

Quebec's 6.4 million residents enjoy a diversified economy. Since 90 per cent of them are French-speaking, the general language of instruction is French, but English-language schools are also permitted. Some cities have separate Roman Catholic and Protestant school boards. Vocational guidance has developed differently in Quebec than in English-speaking North America. Responsibility for service delivery is divided among three kinds of specialists: teachers, specialists in educational and occupational information, and guidance counselors.

The distinguishing feature of the Quebec vocational guidance course, in which secondary students spend one hour per week, is its rationale. A self-actualization perspective underlies the aims of enabling students to make informed educational and career choices which are satisfying and realistic. One portion of the course materials, which is compulsory, stresses the teaching of values such as self-sufficiency, a sense of freedom, a sense of responsibility, effort toward self-fulfillment, and ability to communicate genuinely while respecting the integrity of oneself and others. The belief is that this instruction will enable students to acquire and use effectively all of the kinds of information needed in decision making. Activities in grades 7 and 8 are directed toward exploration of self and environment; in grade 9, crystallization of an occupational preference; grade 10, specification of the preference; grade 11, implementation of decisions.

The course is based on four sets of notions. *Decisional strategy notions* relate to the belief that each experience, each form of learning, acquires significance when applied to the decisions that must be made and the problems that must be solved in anticipating and planning for the future. *School notions* contend that school is a privileged location where experiences significantly influence students' development. Therefore, students are obliged to meet new requirements of involvement and personal effort, and must work their way through the system to fulfill their educational plans. *Employment notions* suggest that students need accurate information about employment and occupations in order to overcome the superficial, stereotypic, and socioculturally biased ideas about occupations that they bring into the school. When suitable opportunities to obtain the correct data are provided, they will make wise decisions. *Personal identity notions* assume that students' self-concepts significantly influence decisions. Students are encouraged, therefore, to take personal identity into account as they analyze and evaluate information. Sequential exploration of many roles, it is believed, stimulates self-exploration which, in turn, leads to increasingly specific exploration of school and career roles.

As a result of this kind of instruction, it is expected that individuals will become self-sufficient and responsible in coping with the demands of the labor market.

Ontario

In terms of population, Ontario is the largest province with 8.7 million people. Its economy is diversified, and it has a relatively low unemployment rate of 8 per cent (12 per cent for youth). The secondary school system has 13 grades (including 11 grades plus community college certification and diploma programmes in skilled occupations and two-year entrance programmes for the province's universities). As in Quebec, a local board may have both English- and French-language schools. There is a large community-college system offering a range of two- and three-year diploma programmes.

There is also a large university system which is autonomous of provincial authority. The Ontario Department of Community and Social Services provides grants to 100 community-based youth employment counseling centers.

Policy of the Ontario Ministry of Education requires that every school have a written guidance programme, including 20 hours of instructions in both grades 7 and 8. The aims are elaborate and include some atypical ones: becoming familiar with the legal rights and responsibilities of employees, understanding the role and function of unions, and learning about the advantages and disadvantages of self-employment. Guidance counselors help students to assimilate and personalize the knowledge they acquire in the guidance activities. Every secondary school, and grades 7 and 8, in Ontario has free access to the SGIS computerized guidance system. Some schools also use Choices.

Although the guidance course provides only for in-school experiences, there are a variety of transitional experiences available otherwise, some of them linked with credit-bearing courses.

Work experience involves a one- to three-week placement in a work setting related to a particular programme of studies. Such placements, usually in grade 11 or 12, carry no credit but may be a mandatory part of an academic course.

Cooperative education, which has been growing rapidly in recent years, involves 250 to 500 hours of out-of-school experience. On satisfactory completion, secondary school graduation credit is awarded, but it is usually linked to an in-school course. Student performance is monitored and evaluated by the teacher and the work supervisor.

Two Ontario ministries, education and colleges and universities, have instituted a *linkage programme* to ensure close articulation between secondary school courses on the one hand, and courses in the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology and the apprenticeship programme, on the other. Curricula for several courses (machinist, motor vehicle mechanic, millwright, cook, appliance repairer, and baker, e. g.) were aligned with the apprenticeship requirements, shortening apprenticeship training for students who had taken the courses in secondary school. Similarly, students who studied business and commerce, welding, electronics, and drafting found that having had those courses facilitated direct entry into related college programmes.

The Ontario Youth Secretariat administers the *Student Venture Capital Programme* which provides interest-free loans (maximum of $ 2000.00) to secondary, college, and university students for summer venture projects. The Secretariat, the Royal Bank of Canada, and the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, together with local Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, provide promotional, educational, and consultative services during the planning and operation of the venture. Of 424 student businesses funded in this fashion in one year, only 16 per cent defaulted on the loans.

School boards have initiated programmes to encourage school drop-outs to return to school. These *Drop-Back* programmes are generally occupation-related and contain cooperative education components. They encourage technically motivated youth and married women wishing to enter or re-enter the labor force to up-grade their skills. Business education, motor vehicle mechanics, and machine shop practice are typical courses.

Alberta

Alberta has a 12-grade school system, a large system of community colleges and technical institutes, and several universities. Its population exceeds 2.25 million. The economy is fairly diversified, but is greatly affected by abundant oil and gas, which is used in Alberta's own petrochemical industry or exported to the rest of Canada and the United States. The unemployment rate is 9 per cent (14 per cent for youth). The Alberta Department of Manpower supplies materials for use in guidance programmes in the schools.

In 1984, following up on an earlier review of school guidance programmes, the Alberta Department of Education issued new policy statements and guidelines for career development services in the schools. The avowed intention was to increase individual satisfaction through strengthened ability to make rational career choices and manage transitions successfully. Detailed objectives have been drawn up for grades 6 through 12. Some objectives are addressed in a Life Careers curriculum which is mandatory through grade 9 but optional thereafter. Every teacher is expected to incorporate career education activities into their subject-matter content, promote career awareness activities, and assist students in developing work-related experiences. Besides coordinating the

career education programme activities, school counselors are also expected to provide group and individual counseling. Parents are also included by encouraging them to participate as guest speakers about decision making and life style in their own occupations, participate in school career day programmes, reinforce career education learnings through discussions at home, and provide contacts for work- experience programmes.

The Alberta Department of Manpower has established career centers in 15 communities to assist citizens of all ages with all aspects of their career development. They serve some 30,000 clients each year. The Department has also operated a toll-free telephone "hotline" since November of 1984, providing information (on occupations, educational programmes, job search, and federal and provincial training programmes) to all who call from within the province. In addition to other vocational guidance materials, Alberta Manpower also produces video tapes about various aspects of career development. "Opening Doors: Keys to Career Planning" is a series of eight 30-minute tapes designed for adults (18 and older) who are facing career decisions but have no familiarity with career planning. "By Chance or by Choice" is an introduction to career planning, "Given the Chance" is an orientation to job hunting for Natives, and "Going Back: Adults Returning to Education" is intended to motivate adults who are contemplating returning to full-time studies. Intended for elementary classrooms, "What Would You Like to Be?" contains animated depictions of 121 occupations.

ANALYSIS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

In recent decades, Canada has made a great deal of progress in developing and improving vocational guidance services. Especially in the last decade, innovations in materials, policy statements, and guidelines for implementation have strengthened guidance offerings. As with all innovation, the progress represented by these changes has been greeted with a mixture of enthusiasm, apprehension, and apathy. In part because of the complexity and diversity of the country, and in part because of the division of authority over guidance services, progress has not been uniform in all sectors. As a consequence, considerable room for improvement remains. Some observations about present conditions and suggestions for further progress are presented below. The are organized in conformity with Watts' (1981) suggestions.

Conceptual framework

The important remaining problem about conceptualizing guidance services in Canada is the difference in positions taken by influential groups about the basic focus of guidance. In spite of the many pleas from several diverse sources for greater vocational emphasis, as already noted, the universities which train counselors have been slow to respond accordingly. Similarly, the Canadian Guidance and Counseling Association has given little attention to vocational behavior in its conferences or journal. Both continue, apparently, to attend mainly to client needs related to general development and personal and social adjustment.

There has been progress in important respects. Provincial departments of education have begun to allow the awarding of academic credit for career planning courses that incorporate theories of vocational development. A few university professors have discovered that publication of research about vocational behavior brings recognition, and that, in turn, will affect the content of the courses they teach. In all, the move toward greater attention to vocational concerns in guidance seems insufficient to meet the needs of a country experiencing fairly high rates of unemployment.

Some of the forces needed to bring about more rapid change appear to be in place. The federal government, provincial departments of labor and education, industrial organizations, parents, and the Chamber of Commerce have all, in one way or another, called for increased vocational emphasis. Perhaps a coalition of these interests would accelerate the pace of change. But it is unclear who the initiators of such an effort ought to be.

Structure

Two aspects of the structure of guidance services in Canada require attention: organizational base and staffing policy.

Organizational base

With circumstances as they exist -- absolute authority for education residing in the provinces, and the major leadership in vocational guidance undertaken by the federal government -- more coordination of efforts is needed to assure that guidance for transition from school to work meets both individual and social needs. The change of jurisdiction as individuals terminate formal education complicates attempts to maintain uninterrupted client contact across the point of transition.

New developments offer some hope for the future. There has been increasing support for cooperative education permitting selected students to spend part of their time in school and part at work. A work experience programme is already in place in Newfoundland. Both of these require collaboration between industry and education which should make transition easier for those students who participate. The experience of collaboration across this gap could provide an important beginning for the broad-based coordination needed to make the entire system operate smoothly.

Staffing policy

In general, school counselors are probably more fully trained than most counselors who work in other settings, but usually, their training contains little preparation in vocational guidance. CEIC conducts extensive inservice education for its professional staff. Ideally, preparation should probably include both kinds of training, but in Canada it rarely does.

In an effort to provide some degree of training in vocational guidance beyond its own staff, CEIC conducts an annual conference on vocational counseling. Typically, it is attended by upwards of 1000 counselors, and some 7500 people receive copies of the proceedings. For similar reasons, some provincial governments offer annual conferences on vocational guidance as well. Although these activities provide important opportunities for professional development, and to some extent compensate for limited professional association leadership in this area, they do not constitute systematic training.

In order to assure that guidance services are delivered by competent people, two things are needed. In the first place, the content of preparation must equip counselors to perform the tasks they actually face on the job. Secondly, minimum qualifications need to be established to regulate hiring practices.

Until more systematic counselor training is implemented, it might be a good idea to extend the CEIC inservice education to other agencies. There are some indications that such a move may be in the offing. This would be helpful, but in the long run, it cannot meet all of the needs. Collaborative efforts among education departments, professional associations, CEIC, and university faculties probably offer the best hope of finding a lasting solution to the broader staffing problem.

Functions

The functions of guidance are generally well established in Canada, but the need for specific improvements or expansions is evident in four of them: information, assessment, counseling, and enabling.

Information

Canada has been very active in the development of vocational guidance materials. This is a surprising observation in view of the fact that much educational material, especially that used in English-speaking schools, is imported from the United States. CEIC has been the most active producer, but departments of education and manpower in the provinces have been active, too. At all levels of government, probably 100 people are engaged full-time in the production of vocational guidance materials. Generally the information is viewed positively and used widely.

One specific kind of information, occupational projections, has not been as well accepted as others. There are reasons for this, of course: forecasts have not always been accurate; changes in the occupational structure occur so rapidly that some information is out of date almost before being published; and the classification system does not provide adequately for inter- occupational mobility. In spite of these difficulties, the information is regarded as important by parents and students in making decisions about occupational opportunities and by educators for making curriculum changes.

There is a good deal of optimism that valid five-year forecasts will be published dependably in the near future. The resources spent on perfecting these forecasts have included increased funding assigned to the studies of generic occupations (the Jobscan project mentioned earlier), particularly for those that are essential to the development of a better occupational classification system. Both projects are important, so it would be desirable to have enough resources so they did not have to compete with each other.

Assessment

Canada has made considerable progress in developing its own assessment instruments that are known to perform well. Many others are in wide use which are adaptations, or in some cases, simply adoptions, of instruments developed in the United States. Two alternative courses of action appear appropriate. Either more effort should be applied to developing assessment instruments precisely for Canadians, or extensive research should be undertaken to make sure the imported materials are reliable and valid for use with Canadian clients.

Counseling

Careful evaluation of all guidance functions is in order, but it seems especially useful to address that need in relation to counseling. CEIC has begun an extended data-collection system which will record data about clients, counselors, and the counseling process both when counseling commences and several months after it terminates. Besides permitting evaluation of the effectiveness of counseling -- that is, changes in certain client characteristics over the course of counseling -- the data may, within the limits imposed by privacy legislation and client approval, have additional uses. The costs of establishing and maintaining such an enormous system make it prohibitive for individual educational institutions, but a data base of these proportions holds a great deal of potential for research and might be made available to them for this purpose.

Most past evaluation has been formative rather than summative, and has been aimed primarily at rectifying those difficulties encountered in programme implementation. In view of the large number of innovations over the last decade or so, this focus is no surprise. The time has come, however, to take a more intensive look at what the programmes are accomplishing.

There has also been some evaluative comparison of the two computer-assisted programmes in wide use, but this needs to be expanded to include evaluation of the relative effectiveness of counseling conducted with and without the assistance of computers.

Enabling

The division of jurisdiction between federal and provincial agencies in the transition from school to work presents problems in the continuity of services. The data system described in the previous section may help to alleviate this problem in two ways. First, information about individual clients, with suitable precautions of course, might be made accessible to agencies which come in contact with clients at different points in the transition. Second, analysis of the data collected before and after the transition may document that the interruption is a disservice to clients.

Although several voices from the business and industry communities have expressed dissatisfaction with the present arrangement, they appear to be unaware that they can make a direct contribution to improving it. Employers, for example, have not recognized the role they might play in offering vocational guidance to their own employees, especially newly hired youth. Even employers who are subsidiaries of United States firms which extend a variety of services to employees have not adopted the same practices in their

Canadian locations. There has been a start, however. Some employee assistance programmes are operating. Though they emphasize crisis intervention basically for drug, alcohol, and marital problems, vocational counseling is often available to those service recipients who request it. It is reasonable to expect that this kind of service will become more common. Perhaps it will also grow to include additional services and make them available to all employees.

Canada, like the United States but unlike Europe, does not have an extensive apprenticeship programme. To the extent that it does exist, it is not well articulated with the educational system. Though there have been numerous objections to what presently exists, not very much corrective action has been taken. A wide range of pilot programmes has been initiated by federal and provincial government bodies, but at present they appear as a casually connected series of independent projects. Left to their own devices, in time they may very well coalesce into a strong network of opportunities for young workers. It is more likely, though, that vigorous cooperation among government agencies, industrial leaders, and organized labor around this issue would reduce the time needed to establish efficient links between education and work.

CHAPTER III

THE BUDDHA AND THE COMPUTER: CAREER GUIDANCE IN TAIWAN OF CHINA

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On a ridge overlooking Changhua City sits a huge Buddha, about five or six stories high, the biggest in Taiwan, From it one can scan the tall smoke stacks of a modern chemical plant, rooftop fish farms on apartment buildings, the congested traffic of a bustling city, a college campus, bright green rice patties nestled in a space between buildings, a busy superhighway and railroad, large schools, open-air markets, a cultural center, and an immense gymnasium. At dawn, people climb steep slopes to the Buddha and the nearby temple, or hike, jog, bicycle, or motor to the sloping road, perhaps do some exercises -- then descend and go about the day's work or study. That work or study is likely to deal with high technology, perhaps in manufacture of plastics or computerized storage, retrieval, and analysis of information. The Buddha and the computer symbolize the mingling of the traditional and the modern in Taiwan of China.

Taiwan of China offers an unusual opportunity to observe the transition from school to work in a society that is itself undergoing rapid transition. This society has demonstrated spectacular economic growth and accelerated technological development over the last three decades. While agricultural production has increased bountifully during that time (under a land ownership reform programme), the relative contribution of agriculture as a percentage of the Gross National Product (GNP) dropped to a third of what it had been 20 years ago. In the past decade, agriculture has dropped to about 1.3 million workers, while industrial employment has increased to about 2.9 million, and services to over 2.8 million.

The rapid sustained growth of industry has been seen particularly in manufacturing that involves high technology: textiles, plastics, machinery, electrical appliances and electronics, ships, and automobiles and motorcycles. High productivity at low cost has resulted in a favorable balance of trade: exports now exceed $25 billion a year (50 per cent of the GNP), and imports are about $20 billion (oil being a major import). The GNP has grown at an average rate of 8 to 10 per cent annually over the last 30 years. Unquestionably, Taiwan of China has been one of the fastest developing countries in the world.

Economic development has taken place under a government that fosters entrepreneurial capitalism in conjunction with strong central planning. To keep pace with and sometimes stimulate the rapid expansion of industry, the government has invested heavily in major construction projects to improve electrical power, transportation, and other components of infrastructure. These have included nuclear power plants, highways, railroads, airports, harbors, shipyards, steel mills, and dams. During all this expansion, the inflation rate has been kept low, and unemployment (despite a recent increase) has remained below 3 per cent.

This booming pace of development and modernization has occurred in the context of an ancient and traditional culture, no less cherished because its people have felt displaced from their mainland source. Indeed, the people define themselves most emphatically as Chinese (not Taiwanese). As the People's Republic of China gained diplomatic recognition from other countries (and Taiwan lost it), the people of Taiwan have taken particular pride in their economic success. They have driven energetically toward making their modern entrepreneurial and capitalistic system work, while protecting zealously as much as

[1] The author gratefully acknowledges the indispensible assistance generously given by Jane (Shu-Chen) Yang of the National Taiwan College of Education in gathering information about the educational system.

possible of the form and substance of traditional Chinese values, customs, and relationships.

Indeed, in observing the transition from school to work in this society that is itself in transition, one would expect to find many sources of conflict in the mingled commitments to modernization and tradition, to change and preservation, to Western ways and Chinese culture. Yet the economic transition seems to be taking place in a relatively harmonious and accommodative mode. Elements of both cultures seem to coexist quite peacefully in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance, respect, and pragmatism.

Geography and climate

Taiwan is an island, about 394 kilometers long and 142 kilometers wide. Taiwan means "terraced bays," and it has a coastline of 1566 kilometers, including some of the biggest ports in the world (e.g., Kaohsiung, Taichung), as befits a country heavily committed to foreign trade.

A mountain range with jagged peaks reaching up to 4,000 meters above sea level runs north to south and covers 70 per cent of the area. The mountains drop sharply to the ocean on the east, leaving room for little more than a narrow strip of highway and beach. The fall to the west is less abrupt, and the western plain holds most of the agriculture, the big cities (e.g., Taipei with 2.5 million people, Kaohsiung with 1.3 million), and the major harbors.

The dominance of the mountains is particularly significant when one considers that the population of the island is about 19 million -- second only to Bangladesh as the most densely populated region in the world! -- even though most of the area is so mountainous as to be virtually uninhabited. This means that the major cities tend to be congested, and every piece of arable land is used for agriculture -- including (for example) terraces for pear trees on steep mountain slopes, tidelands for duck farms, river flood plains for watermelons, and even rooftops for fish farms. The climate is conducive to agriculture, permitting multiple harvests of some crops. Also contributing to agricultural productivity is the fact that 90 per cent of the land is farmed by owners as a result of a land reform programme. Due to this intensive use of land, the country not only is self-sufficient in food production but also exports agricultural products, even though only about 25 per cent of the population lives on farms. Because of the rugged terrain, rivers tend to be short and swift, often fed by waterfalls. Some of these rivers have been dammed for irrigation and hydroelectric power. Thus we see, in the harbors and dams, the terraces and fish farms, and also in the use of forests for timber (accompanied by a programme of reforestation), mining (under difficult circumstances) for coal, and quarrying of mountains for marble, a planned and systematic utilization of geographic and climatic resources to the maximum degree. In an economic system that combines entrepreneurial capitalism with central planning, natural resources are intensively exploited in conjunction with an extensive programme for the preservation of nature.

Population and demographics

The theme of planning is also strongly evident in recent population trends. As mentioned above, 19 million people reside on an island of which about 70 per cent is so mountainous as to be virtually uninhabitable. In recognition of this density (the population has doubled since 1946), a programme of family planning was inaugurated. Consequently, the birth rate dropped from over 38 per cent in 1947 to less than 21 per cent in 1983. Since the death rate also dropped sharply (from 18 per cent in 1947 to less than 5 per cent in 1983), the natural rate of increase is about 16 per cent; it is expected to be below 13 per cent by 1989. The average family size is now 4.5.

Land ownership reform and other benefits to farmers have also been planned, at least in part, to make farm life attractive and prevent further migration from farms to the already congested cities.

About 31 per cent of the people are less than 15 years old, almost 65 per cent are between 15 and 64, and over 4 per cent are 65 or over. It is also interesting to note that the ratio of males to females is 108 to 100. The active labor force is about 39 per cent of the total population. In short, the population is rather young, with a ratio of 100 "working-age" persons to 55 who are below or above the typical "working age." The distribution of people by age indicates there will be a steady influx of young workers to

be absorbed by the economy. At the same time, the dynamic nature of the economy, with increasing emphasis on high technology, suggests that many mature workers may be changing their occupations. Thus, education, vocational training, and career guidance are seen as important elements in manpower planning for sustained high employment, for improvements in productivity, for continuing technological development in adding an "information economy" to the "industrial economy," and (of increasing importance to avoid emigration of able people) for enhancing individual success and satisfaction in the world of work.

Education is accorded great importance by the Chinese, and the educational system requires some description as a major component of the context and the content for career guidance.

The educational system

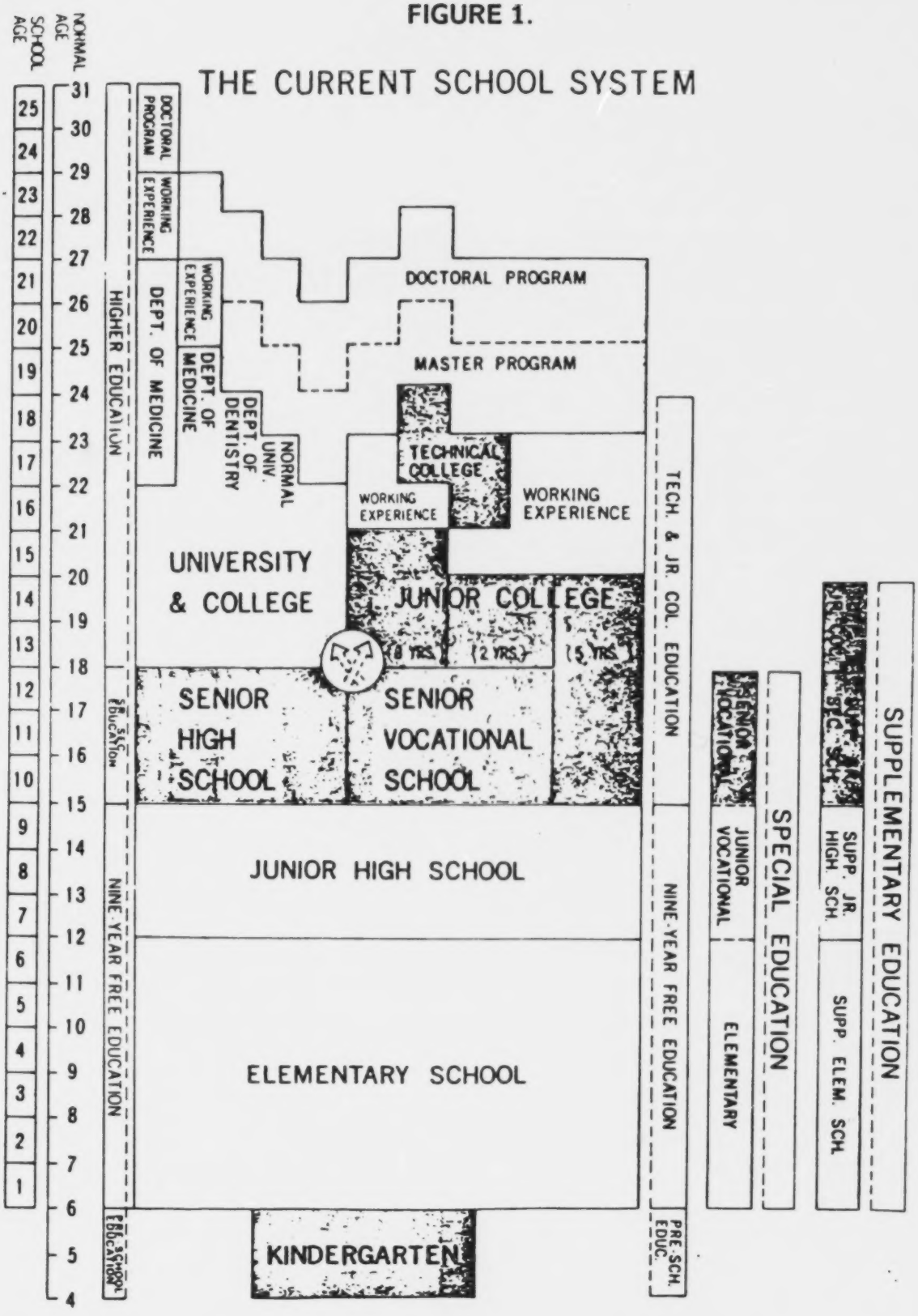
Universal education has been provided through junior high school (grade 9) since 1968. Virtually all persons in the appropriate age groups are now enrolled in the grades from kindergarten through grade 9. From that point on, advancement through the educational system depends on passing tests required for entry to each successive level: senior high school, college, graduate school. For a graphic outline of the educational system, see Figure 1, 'The Current School System'). Tests also play an important part in determining employment in many occupations, certification, evaluation, and promotion. For example, appointment to civil service jobs depends on passing tests administered under the jurisdiction of the Examination Yuan, a branch of government deemed so important as to be coordinate with the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, and the Control Yuan.

The first transition from school to work comes for many young people at the end of grade 9. Regional achievement tests determine admission to the senior level of secondary education: Students within each region of the country are chosen in rank order of test scores until the number of places in their region has been filled. Counselors express concern about the severe pressure on students to pass these tests; they believe it is responsible for many psychological disturbances. Indeed some parents take their children abroad to avoid this pressure in the junior high school years. In each of the last 10 years, 50 to 60 per cent of the students completing 9th grade passed the tests to gain admission to grade 10. Of the other 40 per cent, some seek to undertake remedial education and try the tests again in a later year. (Those who pass the retests increase the annual number of entrants to grade 10 by about 16 per cent.) Others look for employment or vocational training designed to lead directly to a particular occupation. These others are in immediate and pressing need of vocational guidance. Until the middle of July, their guidance and placement remains the responsibility of the junior high school counselors. After mid-July, the counselors send lists of those still unplaced to regional Employment Service centers for further testing, counseling, vocational training, and placement. (The centers, under the jurisdiction of the Employment and Vocational Training Administration, Ministry of the Interior, are a substantial portion of the career guidance apparatus, and are described later.)

Of students who go on to grade 10, some enter senior high schools (enrolling over 190 thousand students in 1984), and most others enter senior vocational schools (in which 405 thousand students were enrolled in 1984). Other options at this stage include some 5-year junior colleges and the military schools (the latter to prepare for entry into the military as low- ranking officers or to postsecondary military academies to prepare for higher ranks). The senior high schools are mainly for those who plan to enter industry, commerce, agriculture, and other employment after graduation (although some may eventually succeed in entering college by passing departmental tests for a chosen field of study).

Many students and their parents regard admission to a senior high school as most desirable. There, the 10th-grade student decides on a "physical science" or "social science" emphasis, leading to a concentration in grades 11 and 12 in one of four groups: (A) physical science and engineering; (B) liberal arts and social science; (C) pre-medical, biology, agriculture; (D) pre-law and business. (It is expected that groups B and D will be merged next year.) Until last year this departmentalization was rigid; now it is possible for students to change by passing tests for another department. At the end of grade 10, those who have chosen group A must pass a teacher-made test in mathematics to stay in

FIGURE 1.



Source: Educational Statistics of Taiwan of China, Ministry of Education, 1984.

the physical science "major." To assist students in choice of curriculum, counselors may administer Chinese translations and adaptations of various American-published standardized tests: the Differential Aptitude Tests, the Brainard Occupational Preference Inventory, and the California Test of Mental Maturity. Students take the test scores to their parents, whose wishes are generally regarded as dominant in determining students' decisions. Counselors generally do not believe the tests have much influence on the choices.

At the completion of senior high school, in July, students take the national College Entrance Examinations, achievement tests prepared by committees of examiners from college faculties. Students take from 7 to 10 tests, depending on how much flexibility they want in choosing college departments. Some of the tests (e.g., Chinese History and Culture, English, Three Principles of the People) are common for all departments. Others (e.g., physical science mathematics or social science mathematics) are differentiated by departments. After receiving their score reports, students rank order their preferences for various college-department combinations. The college departments make admissions decisions, and a computer matching system assigns students to the highest ranked preference of a college-department for which they have been accepted. Because the relative prestige of the colleges often looms large to students and their parents, many students tend to give a high rank to a less preferred department in a high-prestige college and a lower rank to a department deemed more appropriate in a college with lower prestige. (If they get into the high- prestige college, they may later attempt to change departments.) Recently, up to 46 per cent of the senior high school graduates of a given year have been able to pass the test for entry to a postsecondary institution. (The number of admissions has been nearly doubled, however, by high school graduates of previous years who pass the tests after remedial study. There is no limit on the number of times they can try.) Of those who fail, males are likely to enter compulsory military service, then seek remedial education and take the tests again or else enter directly into employment or specific vocational training; females are exempt from military service.

There are 105 postsecondary institutions; they include 16 universities, 12 colleges, and 77 junior colleges, and enroll a total of 400 thousand students. The junior colleges tend to focus on the applied sciences and the training of technicians, although some are "normal schools" for the training of elementary school teachers. There are 5-year junior colleges for junior high school graduates, 3-year junior colleges for senior high school graduates, and 2-year junior colleges for senior vocational school graduates; their students may transfer to a college or university, with the loss of one year (e.g., second-year rather than third-year standing), by passing appropriate departmental tests. Those who do not transfer enter military service or the work force. After completing the second year of a 4-year college, students may also transfer from one department to another by passing a departmental examination. If they fail it, they must remain in their original department.

College and university departments offer mainly 4-year undergraduate programmes, except for a 5-year programme for prospective teachers. Medical departments offer 7-year combined undergraduate and graduate programmes (thereby requiring early commitment), but beginning in 1982 4-year medical schools were also established to enroll graduates of 4-year undergraduate programmes that included relevant science courses. Graduates of 4-year colleges can also, after passing appropriate tests, be admitted to MA and Ph D programmes, generally taking two years and four years, respectively. About 2500 master's degrees and fewer than 100 Ph Ds were awarded in 1984. Thus, most college graduates enter work (or military service and then work) after graduation, although many go abroad for graduate and professional study.

After completing college or graduate or professional school, most students still have to find their own jobs. For some, however, there is a formal system of placement. For example, graduates of many departments in schools of education can rank-order their preferences for the regions in which they wish to teach. The higher their academic standing, the better their chances of being assigned by the Ministry of Education to a high-ranked preference. Civil service examinations must be passed for government positions, and many other jobs also depend on ability to pass employment tests. Tests are also used for rating of workers' levels of skills, for promotions, and for certification.

In short, it is clear from this description of pathways through the educational system that advancement in education and in occupations depends on tests of various kinds at specific points of "discontinuity." For many years the pervasive reverence for education -- the desire to get as much education as possible -- led people to regard these

discontinuities as gates that swung open for those who passed tests and remained closed to those who failed them. Thus, energies were devoted singlemindedly toward passing tests and progressing in education. People who failed the first attempt would take remedial instruction, often in expensive private schools, in order to prepare for another round of testing, or would enroll in the public "supplementary" school system. The number of such supplementary schools has risen to enroll 64 thousand students in elementary and general secondary education, 171 thousand in vocational education, and 28 thousand in junior colleges.

Guidance in schools and colleges

In the single-minded striving for more education, however, it is also clear that too little attention was being paid to the people for whom the gates to further education remained closed. Since 1978-79, when guidance was extended down to the elementary schools, counselors have been present at every level of education in Taiwan. For the most part, however, the counselors have appeared to concentrate on helping students prepare for and pass tests and so progress through the educational system. They have also seemed to be interested in attempts at psychotherapy (Lin, 1982). Until recently no one had paid much official attention to career-decision making (CDM), not only for those who dropped off the educational stairway at any gate, but even for those students who had to make educational choices as they advanced from one level of schooling to another.

Actually there are many stages at which career decisions are being made, explicitly or implicitly. The process of CDM could be improved by making it explicit. In an economy that has moved so swiftly and has now developed much greater complexity and maturity, perception of the need for career guidance is increasing.

The transition from a largely agricultural to an industrial and information economy has brought about growth in the number of occupations with low visibility. The work of farmers has always been highly visible to young people. But very few students have a chance to observe and understand the activities of such occupations as electronic engineer, computer programmer, production manager, and so on. Yet people have become much more conscious of the variety of career opportunities open to them. They have also come to recognize the likelihood of changing occupations several times in the course of a career in response to the volatility of an economy that depends so heavily on exports. So concern for career guidance now appears to be growing rapidly among students, workers, counselors, and the appropriate government ministries. It now seems likely that school and college guidance programmes will devote much greater attention to CDM and that efforts will be made to adapt existing computer-assisted guidance systems to Chinese needs, or to develop an indigenous system.

The need for career guidance is not confined to students with access to school and college counselors. As indicated above, a majority of the students completing junior high school fail to be admitted to college. Their employment needs and those of adults who must change jobs have been addressed by the establishment, in 1981, of the Employment and Vocational Training Administration (EVTA) under the Ministry of the Interior.

Role of the EVTA in career guidance

In its short existence, much of the work of the EVTA has focused on vocational training. Under its supervision, vocational training institutes have been established to provide pre-employment training for people aged 15 and over, particularly graduates of vocational high schools or junior and senior high schools who are not going on to the next level of the educational system. These institutes also provide training for experienced workers who need to transfer to a new occupation or who seek to upgrade their skills for promotions. The EVTA has also succeeded in expanding apprenticeship and other on-the-job training in industry. Besides training, it has devoted considerable effort to extend the testing of workers' skills in various trades; it has issued certificates to represent their levels of qualification.

In addition to these functions, the EVTA has established 7 regional Employment Service Centers and 37 Branch Offices, under provisions of the Vocational Training Act promulgated in December 1983. Among the Employment Service activities are included revision and development of vocational tests, collection and dissemination of occupational data, and establishment of a "National Employment Information Exchange Center" to help

bring together job applicants and job vancancies. These activities bring the Employment Service into direct confrontation with needs for career guidance.

It is too early, of course, in the history of this organization to pass any judgments on is efficacy in handling career guidance. As far as training programmes are concerned, efforts are apparently being made to fit them to economic and occupational projections. Making such projections is not within the sphere of responsibility of the EVTA or the Ministry of the Interior; rather, projections and other kinds of occupational information are taken directly from studies by the Economic Council. Presumably, the EVTA will disseminate such information to its clients. It is not clear, however, whether any effort will be made toward wider dissemination, such as might be accomplished through school and college counseling offices or to the public at large. Meanwhile, counselors and counselor educators have complained of the sparsity and fuzziness of occupational information that is available to them. They say they can get only spotty and unreliable information on such topics as occupational definitions and descriptions, requirements for entry, wages and salaries, opportunities for various personal satisfactions and rewards, conditions of work, and opportunities and outlook. In their view, the data provided by the Economic Council are not regarded as sufficiently comprehensive, systematic, or relevant for career guidance. It would seem advisable that counselors and career guidance specialists be consulted on the *structure* (and other characteristics) of the occupational information needed for guidance.

The development of employment and certification tests is evidently within the EVTA's province. It has contracted with a private institute of testing to construct the tests. So far, a translation and adaptation of the General Aptitude Test Battery developed by the US Employment Service has been used on an experimental basis for guidance and counseling purposes. In a country so dependent on tests for selection, there is need for a word of caution on their use for guidance. Selection and guidance are not symmetrical processes. In selection of candidates for a given job, employers may care only about absolute validity of a battery of test scores in predicting success on the job: If the correlation coefficients are significant, selection of applicants with the highest scores on the predictor composite will increase productivity to a degree depending on the magnitude of the validity, the base rate, and the selection ratio. But if scores on a battery of tests are to be the primary basis for guidance on behalf of clients, as distinct from selection on behalf of employers, not just absolute prediction but differential prediction is required: That is, a client at a given level of education trying to choose an occupation needs to know how much better are chances of success in some kinds of work than in others; with how much confidence can the available options be differentiated in this respect by a test battery? In general, as a great deal of research in the United States has shown, even test scores with useful absolute validity seem to lack sufficient differential validity to indicate which fields should be considered and which should be excluded. *After* the total number of occupations has been reduced to manageable proportions by an analysis of their desirability to each client, an evaluation of his or her abilities, skills, and knowledge in terms of the specific requirements of each of the remaining occupations is both more efficient and more beneficial to the client. Dependence on tests for guidance is also dubious in a culture where the transition from dependence on authority to individual autonomy has not yet been resolved. An agency that emphasizes use of tests for guidance may become identified with authoritarian selection on behalf of employers rather than with guidance responsive to each client's own career development. An appropriate role for use of tests in career guidance is proposed later in this paper under Suggestions for Improvement.

Certainly the effort to set up an information exchange or "job bank" seems praiseworthy. The EVTA indicates (Ministry of Interior, undated) that in 1984 about half of all its applicants were placed in jobs, but less than a third of the job openings listed were filled. The actual number of placements seems to have been about 100,000. This aspect of helping people in the transition from school to work -- that is, bringing appropriate job openings to the attention of clients -- is of great practical value. It can enable candidates to be much more efficient in their job searches than they would be on their own. Obviously, its usefulness in job placement over the long term will depend largely on the extent to which the Employment Service can build its credibility with employers and candidates. This involves a "beneficent circle." If the Employment Service can register a wide range of job openings and of clients, it will induce a high proportion of employers to list a high proportion of their jobs and encourage candidates with many

levels and kinds of skills to register. Thus, many opportunities for "good matches" will be found, and usefulness of the Service will be widely accepted. If, however, mainly menial and unskilled jobs are listed, and unskilled applicants register, its effectiveness and reputation will be greatly curtailed.

An important asset for the potential efficacy of the EVTA is its opportunity for control over a number of related resources. It can coordinate and supervise career guidance, occupational information, testing and assessment, vocational training, and job placement. Thus, it possesses a unique capability to provide comprehensive services in the transition from school to work, or from one position to another. It can offer counseling to deal with career decisions and occupational choice; it can provide appropriate vocational training, and direct clients to it, as needed; it can refer clients to specific job openings, and then assist them in advancement through on-the-job training and certification. In short, the EVTA is positioned to play a major role in the transition from school to work in Taiwan, provided that it develops and uses appropriate resources wisely.

Suggestions for the immediate future

Fast-paced changes in the economy and in the society at large have fostered more active individual involvement in career decision-making, greater flexibility and attention to self-fulfillment. The universal acceptance of worth through kinship and of prestige through singleminded pursuit of more education has been giving ground to a growing recognition of wide-ranging variations in individual values.

The old model of career decision making involved following the dictates of parents (or other family elders), which often included aspiring to as high and prestigious a level of education as one could attain. School counseling has often emphasized resolution of internal conflicts engendered in students who have struggled to reconcile family dictates with their own perceptions of individual needs, values, opportunities, and circumstances; thus, counselor education has emphasized preparation to deal with problems of psychological adjustment and therapy.

The new times require consideration of a new rationale for guidance, new approaches to guidance functions, new strategies for career decision making, and new methods of counselor education. These innovations obviously cannot be introduced without adequate preparation. Beginnings have already been made, but the needs are urgent, and the gradual evolutionary process appears to require speeding up. A brief statement of suggestions for improvement in important areas follows.

Rationale for guidance

With changes in cultural premises and needs (of students, of the nation, of institutions, of employers), the purposes of guidance have to be redefined to emphasize guidance for career decision making as distinct from guidance for educational progress. A major purpose of education is to transmit the universals in a culture. Guidance, on the other hand, deals with choices to be made among the alternatives legitimized by a culture. As changes in Taiwan of China have made alternatives culturally acceptable, guidance theorists and practitioners must undertake to encourage recognition of the choice points and discontinuities in careers, to define the options available at each stage, and to enhance individuals' freedom to make informed and rational decisions.

Model of career decision-making

The major objective of informed and rational career decision-making is to maximize utility. That is, students and other clients will want to make choices that provide the greatest rewards and satisfactions, while avoiding excessive risks and investments. The first function of an appropriate model of vocational guidance is to help each person narrow the staggering number and bewildering variety of occupations to a comprehensive but manageable list of options worthy of further consideration. The second function is to make finer distinctions among occupations on the list and so close on a choice that offers the optimum combination of desirability and probability for each person. The final function is to plan and engage in the actions necessary to implement the choice.

Perceptions of the importance and magnitude of various rewards, satisfactions, risks, and investments vary from one person to another. A given choice does not have uniform

utility or expectancy for different individuals. Differences in the importance attached to any array of rewards and satisfactions are a function of individual values. So values are a central construct in a model of career decision-making. The model must also take cognizance of other individual differences that affect perceptions of the relative desirability of options or that restrict or facilitate access to various options. Since individuals differ also in the extent to which they are aware of these characteristics and are able to appraise and express them, self-assessment is a major component of the model.

Self-assessment

External assessment (as by standardized tests) is unenlightening for informed and rational career decision-making unless the results have been understood and introcepted by the client. It is important, therefore, for clients to understand the domains of individual differences and their relevance for career decision-making. This requires attention to the particular structure of each domain and to clear definition of the dimensions comprised by each domain.

Clients should not just be measured but should have an opportunity to explore and examine their own values and interests (which have to do with what they want or seek) and their own abilities, skills, knowledge, and resources (which have to do with what they can offer and the requirements they can meet). The structure of interests and of abilities-skills-knowledge relevant for career decision-making can be determined in part by analyzing the structures of educational curricula and of activities represented in occupations in Taiwan.

In general, self-assessment of values can proceed from understanding definitions of each dimension, to initially quantifying the relative importance of each dimension to each client (e.g., by the client's use of numerical weights), then to checking those relative weights by direct comparison (i.e., resolving conflicts between competing values), and finally to redistributing the weights to reflect *examined* values. This kind of exercise, designed to make latent values explicit, can also be used to explore and examine interests: first by defining the structure of topics in educational courses and of activities in occupations, then by asking clients to rate their interests in each of these dimensions (topics and activities) and to compare and revise the ratings across dimensions. Procedures for self-assessment of abilities, skills, and knowledge can also capitalize on these two major resources: research into the structure of each domain, resulting in the presentation of carefully defined dimensions, and the vast experience of themselves that clients bring -- much more extensive than any battery of tests or inventories taken on a given day can provide.

Thus, the counselor or guidance system provides clients with information they do not have -- the structure and the definition of dimensions relevant to career decision-making -- and solicits from clients the information on which they are uniquely expert, their own accumulated experience of themselves.

Occupational information

Counselors who might want to practice career guidance in Taiwan have complained that the necessary information is not available. Again, as in individual assessment, structure is a crucial concept. A great deal of occupational information usually exists in most countries, but does not necessarily exist in a form that is properly organized and accessible for guidance. For example, information gathered for economic planning, the census, analysis of manpower needs, and so on often represents a high level of aggregation. For guidance purposes, this kind of information must be disaggregated by occupations or other options for choice. The first stage is to compile a list of appropriate occupations and their definitions. Occupational titles listed and classified for other purposes usually define and cluster occupations in ways that are more useful for their respective functions than for guidance. For guidance sometimes more or fewer titles are needed; some different titles should be merged into a single title; some single titles should be divided. But this means that information now available from government sources by industry or by some other grouping of occupations must be decomposed and then recomposed. Can the guidance profession prevail upon government agencies to perform these additional analyses? Probably not without resistance, given the likelihood that career guidance needs are not well represented or understood by such agencies. But

the guidance profession can make a good beginning on its own. So the second stage in developing occupational information is to determine an appropriate structure for such information.

This task can be a joint effort of faculty and students in the two graduate schools of guidance in Taiwan (the National Taiwan Normal University and the National Taiwan College of Education). First, these schools can form a task force to outline the kinds of information that are most relevant for career guidance. This outline would lead to framing the questions that need to be answered and then to specifying the form of the answer. Second, teams of students working in pairs, under close faculty supervision, could each make an intensive study of *one* occupation, using the structure that had been developed. This task could be done for credit, perhaps as part of a master's thesis. Each team's work would be reviewed by the entire task force (including faculty and students) for faithfulness to the structure. The team would acquire information by identifying and questioning an expert panel of participant-observers in the selected occupation. A panel would be composed of representative members of each occupation chosen as most likely to be knowledgeable not only about their own jobs but about the occupation as a whole. Thus, the panel for a given occupation might be distributed to include one person in industry, one in government, one in education, and so on. Staffs of occupational organizations and associations might be likely candidates for the panels, and they could also be asked to nominate others. Each team would combine and write up its panel's responses to questions in a format consistent with the structure determined for the information. Each panelist would then independently review the writeup of a given occupation for accuracy. Panelists' comments and suggestions would be considered by the faculty supervisor and student team, who might go back to the panelists to iron out any disagreements or misunderstandings. This would be an iterative task, until consensus was reached. A separate faculty-student team would then do a final editing of the information for all the occupations studied, to make sure that style was consistent.

In this way, systematic and comprehensive information would be prepared about a handful of occupations. These writeups, in standard format, would then serve as models for a second wave of occupations. The models, along with a set of questions representing the structure, would be sent to new panels selected to cover other occupations. The new panels' responses would then be handled as in the procedure indicated above: combination of the various responses for each occupation, writeup, editing, review by the panel, ironing out discrepancies, revision, and final editing. In this way, information could be accumulated for a core group of occupations, particularly those entered by substantial numbers. Other occupations could be added on a steady annual basis, and data for old ones could be reviewed and brought up to date periodically.

It has been my experience that panelists are glad to be asked to make this contribution to information about their own occupations. They take pride in their participation, and work at it diligently and seriously. The exercise would be valuable to graduate students: They would learn a great deal, not only about occupations, but about research and survey procedures, methods of analyzing data, and ways of converting "data" into "information." If at some point government agencies indicated a willingness to participate, or even take over full responsibility for gathering, analyzing, and reporting occupational information for career guidance, a model of an appropriate and useful system could be turned over to them.

Linking individual characteristics to occupational attributes

It is important to emphasize that the domain of individual characteristics is not isomorphic with the domain of occupational attributes. Nevertheless, the two domains can be linked. We spoke earlier of assessing individual characteristics that were relevant for career decision-making. Not all individual differences make a difference for this purpose. By the same token, some attributes of occupations are more meaningful than others for career decision-making. Various models have been used to establish linkages between the two domains. One has been to relate decision makers' characteristics to the characteristics of people already engaged in the occupations. (This model seems to express the "Birds of a feather flock together" rationale for guidance, a theory that has been quite thoroughly discredited.) Another has been to put full reliance on a particular array of dimensions associated with "interests," to the exclusion of other considerations. For example, the *Guide for Occupational Exploration* (US Department of Labor, 1979)

partitions the universe of occupations into "interest areas." This procedure assumes (erroneously) that no occupation involves more than one kind of interest (for example, engineering occupations, including research engineers, are classified in the "Mechanical" but not the "Scientific" area). It also assumes that interests are the dominant concern of decision makers. But of course other considerations than interests are important to decision makers, and such narrow trait-matching simply does not work.

Perhaps the practice of using "interests" loosely, as in the *Guide*, as if they characterized occupations, is responsible for inducing the error of the trait-matching model. Strictly speaking, interests are not a property of occupations but of persons. *Activities* can be used to describe occupations. Thus, the activities involved in an occupation tend to provide *opportunities* (more or less) for satisfaction of any of an individual's interests. But the match is not that of a square peg to a square hole. Most of the occupations with which guidance is likely to be concerned tend to involve some variety of activities. While people in these occupations may be able to emphasize some activities more than others, in keeping with their own preferences, they are rarely able to limit themselves only to the activities that appeal to them. At the same time, and conversely, people usually have a "surplus" of interests beyond those that correspond to occupational activities. In short, it is clear that -- even when corresponding dimensions of interests and activities are identified -- the distribution of interests in the population is far from a perfect match with the distribution of related activities in the world of work.

Furthermore, occupational "families" determined on the basis of "interests" do not tend to represent cognate occupations in terms of properties that are at least equally important for career decision-making. Indeed, guidance -- by its nature -- requires not a single classification system, but flexibility such that occupations may be grouped into different clusters according to the needs, preferences, and characteristics of each client. Thus, a number of different "slices" can be taken through the universe of occupational attributes. We have previously mentioned the major kinds of individual characteristics relevant for guidance: values, interests, skills, and resources. Each of these can be usefully (but only partially) linked to a corresponding array of oc upational attributes: values to the opportunities offered by occupations for various kinds of rewards and satisfactions; interests to the work activities of each occupation; abilities, skills, and knowledge to the requirements for employment in each occupation; and resources to the requirements for employment in each occupation; and resources to the investment of time and money necessary to prepare for entry. For any one client, the linkage between individual characteristics and occupational attributes may involve only selected facets from each domain, but clients need the capability of examining all possible linkages systematically before deciding which are most salient. As indicated below, an interactive computerized system can handle these linkages quite efficiently.

Strategies and algorithms

We have outlined above, in general terms, a two-stage model of career decision-making that helps the client first extract a manageable list of options from the universe of occupations and then make a choice that represents the optimum combination of desirability and probability. In the first stage, as suggested, each client may specify a distinctive array of search variables, usually the specific values and interests deemed most important for satisfaction. Occupations that meet or exceed the minimum specifications are retained for further consideration. In the second stage, numerical or graphic algorithms can be used to rate the extent to which each remaining occupation offers the rewards, satisfactions, and activities that the client most wants, values, and likes. These ratings represent the *desirability* of each occupation. Then clients use information from assessment of skills and resources and from occupational information about requirements to rate the likelihood that they can enter and succeed in each occupation. These ratings represent *probabilities*. Various decision rules can be promulgated for modulating desirability with probabilities -- taking into account the risk-taking proclivities of each client and making sure that the basis for choice is explicit. This procedure, like the others summarized above -- assessing values, interests, skills; constructing and interpreting occupational information; linking individual characteristics to occupational attributes -- would require a great deal of a counselor's time in dyadic counseling. It would also require an encyclopedic breadth of knowledge and skill beyond human expectation. When

the requirements of an important task seem to exceed human capabilities, developed or rapidly developing countries tend to turn to technological resources. Thus, the next section recommends the development of a computer-assisted guidance (CAG) system for career counseling (Katz and Shatkin, 1983).

Computer-assisted guidance

The System of Interactive Guidance and Information (SIGI), developed by the author for use mainly in colleges in the US (Katz, 1980), is now running on a computer at the National Taiwan College of Education. A new system called SIGI+, developed for the general adult population in the US (Katz, 1984), is available for demonstration and study on a microcomputer resident in Taipei. These systems embody the principles, model, and components of career guidance enumerated above. Career guidance specialists in Taiwan have the opportunity to adapt these systems or to learn from them in order to develop an indigenous system. In these systems, clients engage in a dialogue with the computer. In various sections, they assess their own values, interests, and skills; through structured search, they identify a list of occupations that meet or exceed their specifications; by asking pointed questions of the data base and getting direct answers, they gain enriched knowledge of particular occupations; they examine the skills required for entry and success in designated occupations, and estimate their chances of meeting these requirements either immediately or after additional preparation; they look at the various pathways, required or recommended, for entry into designated occupations and rate their likelihood of completing the preparation; they consider practical problems and obstacles and judge whether they have the resources to cope with them; they compare selected occupations in terms of over-all desirability and probability, and apply decision rules, and reach closure on their choices; finally, they plan and set out on the first steps necessary to implement their decisions.

In SIGI+, which is useful at any level from high school up, clients can choose their own paths through the system, using sections that are appropriate at a given time and bypassing others. They can also work at chosen levels of detail and explanation, skimming over highlights or dropping down for closer scrutiny of some matters. Thus, a common structure is available for all clients but is flexible enough to meet widely different needs and circumstances.

In my suggestions to the National Science Council, I have outlined a developmental schedule and procedures for construction of such a system for Taiwan. Suitable hardware manufactured in the country is readily available at low cost. There is no dearth of computer programmers. Interest at the graduate schools of guidance is running high, and several faculty members are intent on undertaking the development of "courseware." It seems likely that the Employment Service of the EVTA will also want to participate in some way. Such CAG development would enable Taiwan to leapfrog over many of the problems (e.g., scant ratios of counselors to clients) that have prevented widespread and intensive application of this career guidance model in other countries.

Testing

The use of tests as gates to determine admission to successive levels of education, entry to occupations, and promotion and certification within occupations seems to be deeply embedded in Chinese culture. Tests in some form, therefore, seem likely to be used in gatekeeping functions for some time to come. The underlying doctrine of fairness and equality of opportunity is praiseworthy. There are problems, however, in the applications of this doctrine -- particularly in the construction and use of tests. While it would take too much space for the purpose of this paper to do justice to the problem, two main suggestions can be summarized.

The first has to do with test development and test quality. At present, tests are constructed for various uses by a variety of bodies. For example, regional tests for advancement from junior to senior high school, national tests for college entrance, departmental tests for transfer from one college department to another, tests for admission to specific graduate schools, employment tests, and certification tests are the products of various people under the jurisdiction of a variety of agencies. This arrangement seems unnecessarily fragmented and diffuse, and may be responsible for the questionable quality of some of the tests. An alternative arrangement is proposed: the

establishment of a single agency marshalling expertise in testing. This agency could assemble the best talent in the country in the science and art of measurement, and could develop tests of high quality for the various agencies and jurisdictions that use them. Content experts, such as college faculty members who now construct the College Entrance Examinations in different subjects, could continue to serve as committees of examiners. They would work closely with the measurement specialists on specification of content for each test in their own purview and on item writing, review, and revision. The various jurisdictions would be the clients of the new agency, and would continue to determine matters of policy. What the new agency would contribute would be technical expertise in testing and measurement. This would include not only cooperation with committees of examiners on the design of tests, the types of items to be used, and the writing of items, but also statistical analysis of items and tests, use of efficient scoring methods, development of appropriate scales, and -- probably most important -- the conduct of relevant research. Such research would encompass basic and applied studies; not least among the results of such studies would be the establishment of procedures for the interpretation and use of test scores, taking due account of continuing studies of their reliability and validity.

A second suggestion would be to avoid, for gatekeeping decisions, sole dependence on a single test or battery given at a particular time. Research in other countries has demonstrated repeatedly the increase in validity contributed by use of complementary observations collected over a period of time. (Use of such accumulated observations also relieves much of the "do-or-die" pressure on students whose entire future otherwise seems to hang on a single day's testing.) A good standardized test is a marvelously efficient method of assessment. By carefully sampling some domain of ability, skill, or knowledge, scores on such tests can provide remarkably equitable, reliable, and valid predictors of success at various levels of education and even in some occupations. But there is almost always considerable room for improvement. Substantial increments in predictive validity almost invariably appear to come from records and ratings of previous achievement over a period of some months. These records and ratings themselves are often derived from series of less formal tests and observations: Individually, each such observation may be less reliable and valid than the formal admissions tests, but the accumulation of many observations usually turns out to make a significant contribution to validity.

It may be possible to collect this multitude of observations in a systematic way. Here again computers loom as a useful technology to administer frequent tests (intermingled with instruction) and record and summarize the scores. A cumulative record of this sort for each person should be an effective adjunct to the formal admissions test scores obtained at the point when decisions are about to be made. One of the research functions of the testing agency proposed above would be to follow up students through various levels of education and analyze the regression of achievement on such variables as formal entrance tests and the cumulative record. This function should lead to improvements in both kinds of predictors and to their optimal weighting in predictor composites.

Counselor preparation

Finally, a word is in order about the preparation of counselors for their new roles in career guidance. The development of computerized systems will be largely in the hands of a generation of students now embarking on their preparation for counseling. The computer will never supplant counselors. It will be their creation, helping to extend the influence and impact of the most expert and knowledgeable members of the profession. Highly sophisticated counselors will be needed to develop the computerized systems, to define the role of such systems in career guidance, and to supplement them. This new generation of counselors will need to be conversant with models and functions of career guidance such as those described above. It will also have to be alert to technological developments, be flexible in using new technology, be comfortable with computers, videodisks, and the like.

To meet these needs the two graduate schools of guidance and the lone undergraduate department of guidance (at National Taiwan College of Education) will have to tool up to help counselors prepare for their new and expanded roles in career guidance. It will be extremely difficult for current faculty members to pick up the teaching of the course entirely on their own and extend it into a comprehensive curriculum. By the same

token, although SIGI and SIGI+ are now available on computers in Taiwan, it will be difficult for faculty members to adapt or emulate these systems without benefit of additional experience.

Thus, my final suggestion calls for establishing a formal exchange programme whereby faculty members and graduate students from Taiwan can study and work abroad at institutions that have been in the forefront of development in career guidance, computerized systems, testing, and related research, and foreign specialists in these fields can regularly serve as visiting professors or conduct intensive workshops and seminars in Taiwan.

A concluding note

In writing this paper, I have been very much aware of my own limitations as an outsider. Obviously, an outsider's knowledge is not likely to be so surefooted in fact and intimate in understanding as an insider's. There is, however, a compensating advantage in perspective and detachment. The outsider's view may blur some of the details and may be insensitive to the traditions that underlie current practices. But the insider's closer focus on specific details and greater awareness of traditions may unduly narrow perception of options. A country that is in dynamic transition may find it useful to consider a broad view that is unencumbered by details and traditions. Suggestions for improvement derived from such a view should be, and are, offered with full recognition that they may be unacceptable in part or in their entirety. They are submitted, nevertheless, without undue diffidence, for what they are: suggestions based on short but intensive study by one who is greatly interested in the country and the subject; who is only too ignorant of the former but has had not inconsiderable experience with the latter; and who offers the suggestions, with a hope of stimulating dialogue, in a spirit of helpfulness and deep concern.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION FOR WORK IN COLOMBIA

William C. Bingham [1]

Located at the northwest corner of South America, Colombia is transected, north to south, by three ranges of the Andes Mountains, the Western, Central, and Eastern Cordilleras. The eastern range consists largely of densely-populated high table lands. The Colombian labor force, estimated to be 27 per cent in agriculture, 21 per cent in manufacturing, and 18 per cent in services, participates in a diversified economy, producing a broad range of manufactured goods, crops, and minerals; 50 per cent of its coffee crop is exported, and it produces 90 per cent of the world's emeralds.

The predominant language of Colombia is Spanish. Of the total population of approximately 28.7 million people (25.21 per sq. km.), 97 per cent are Roman Catholic and approximately 70 per cent live in urban areas. By one 1983 estimate, almost 45 per cent of the population were less than 15 years of age.

EDUCATION IN COLOMBIA

In order to appreciate the various ways that education contributes to the transition from school to work in Colombia, it is first necessary to understand the general structure and purposes of the system of education. The general focus is to provide individuals with the fundamental skills needed to find solutions to problems that arise in the course of development, and thereby, become contributing members of society. In education, equal attention is given to scientific, humanistic, and technical instruction, but special emphasis is directed to reducing the separation between academic and technical training. Since it is recognized that the schools and industry possess distinctive competencies in facilitating young people's transition into work, there is no effort to prepare students for entry into a limited, predetermined group of occupations. Rather, the effort is to turn out young workers equipped, not only with skills that approximate specific occupational requirements, but with an integrated perspective about work and themselves which more certainly assures future employment.

Based on the foregoing position, the aims of the educational system in Colombia are: 1) to contribute to the balanced development of the individual and society, fostering respect for life and human rights; 2) to stimulate the development of attitudes and habits that lead to sound physical and mental health; 3) to promote responsible participation in the family and in the social group; 4) to encourage vocational development in accordance with individual aspirations and the needs of society; 5) to encourage wise use of natural resources and the goods and services of society; 6) to inculcate in individuals a spirit of scientific inquiry so they can participate critically and analytically in the search for solutions to national problems; 7) to promote in individuals the capacity to use innovative approaches to improving national conditions; 8) to encourage the development of enduring habits and attitudes in the pursuit of excellence; 9) to encourage understanding of and respect for individual and group differences; 10) to encourage esthetic appreciation; and 11) to promote individual moral and civic responsibility.

The outcomes which derive from these aims are accomplished through a dynamic curriculum which encompasses four general themes: it is centered on the student's own development as an individual and as a member of society; it maintains a balance between

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[1] The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Tobias Hernando Olmos, President, Colombian Association of Guidance Specialists and School Counselors, in providing the documents without which this chapter could not have been written: information about the educational system was adapted almost exclusively from Laverde (1985); information about vocational guidance almost exclusively from Fernandes Lara and Laverde (1984); suggestions for improvement are based, in part, on those produced at the National Congress on Educational Guidance, Bogota, October, 1984. Demographic and topographic data are from the World Almanac (1985).

theoretical conceptualization and practical application of knowledge; it engenders harmony between personal development and social integration; and it teaches problem-solving through examination of actual events in national and international life.

Structure of the educational system

As shown in Figure 2, the educational system is structured into four levels: pre-school (not relevant in the present context) , basic, intermediate vocational, and higher education.

Basic education

Basic education, for children six years and older, spans nine grades: five primary and four secondary. Activities which integrate vocational guidance into the educational process are introduced in the primary grades, but the linkage between these activities and work probably does not become apparent to students until the reach the secondary grades.

During grades 6 and 7, the primary focus is on vocational exploration. Vocational exploration is regarded as the first step in the decision making about educational alternatives that students will face in the ensuing years. Although exploratory experiences may be introduced earlier, it is only during basic secondary that any systematic effort is made to relate personal values, interests, and aptitudes to occupational alternatives. As students progress through grades 8 and 9 they are offered increasing opportunities to relate the personal attributes already mentioned, and specific skills and learnings as well, to the educational selections that are made for intermediate vocational education and to the employment that follows the completion of the specified training.

Intermediate vocational education

Intermediate vocational education spans two years leading to the first degree, which is awarded upon satisfactory completion of any of the available specializations shown in Figure 2. In Grade 10, the curriculum continues to include a good deal of general education required of all students, irrespective of their specialization. It also includes instruction in the broad areas of specialization: technology, the sciences, and the arts. In the eleventh grade, the curriculum is considerably more specialized in each of the 12 fields of specialization and also includes more direct guidance.

Higher education

Entry into higher education requires the first degree in one of the specialized areas. Intermediate professional preparation typically lasts two years; technical preparation, three years; university preparation for the professions, a minimum of four years. Advanced or post-graduate study requires a professional degree for entrance, and can lead to advanced specialization or a masters or doctoral degree.

School guidance in Colombia

The rationale for vocational guidance in the schools closely parallels the conceptual framework for education which has already been presented. As with education in general, school guidance is seen as a continuous process which operates through all grades. There are some respects, however, in which the impact of guidance extends beyond general education.

An obvious difference is the attention given to the facilitation of vocational development. In addition, there is an effort to assure that opportunities for vocational training and entry into apprenticeships are used in a way that takes maximum advantage of students' values, interests, aptitudes, skills, and aspirations.

The belief that the future will not be a simple extension of the present has two ramifications for guidance: first, that the guidance programmes must be submitted to continuous evaluation and modification in order to meet changing conditions and student needs; and second, that the system is responsible for helping individuals to become self-directive, to become the masters of their own destinies. To this end, the guidance programme is designed to personalize the total educational experience for each student

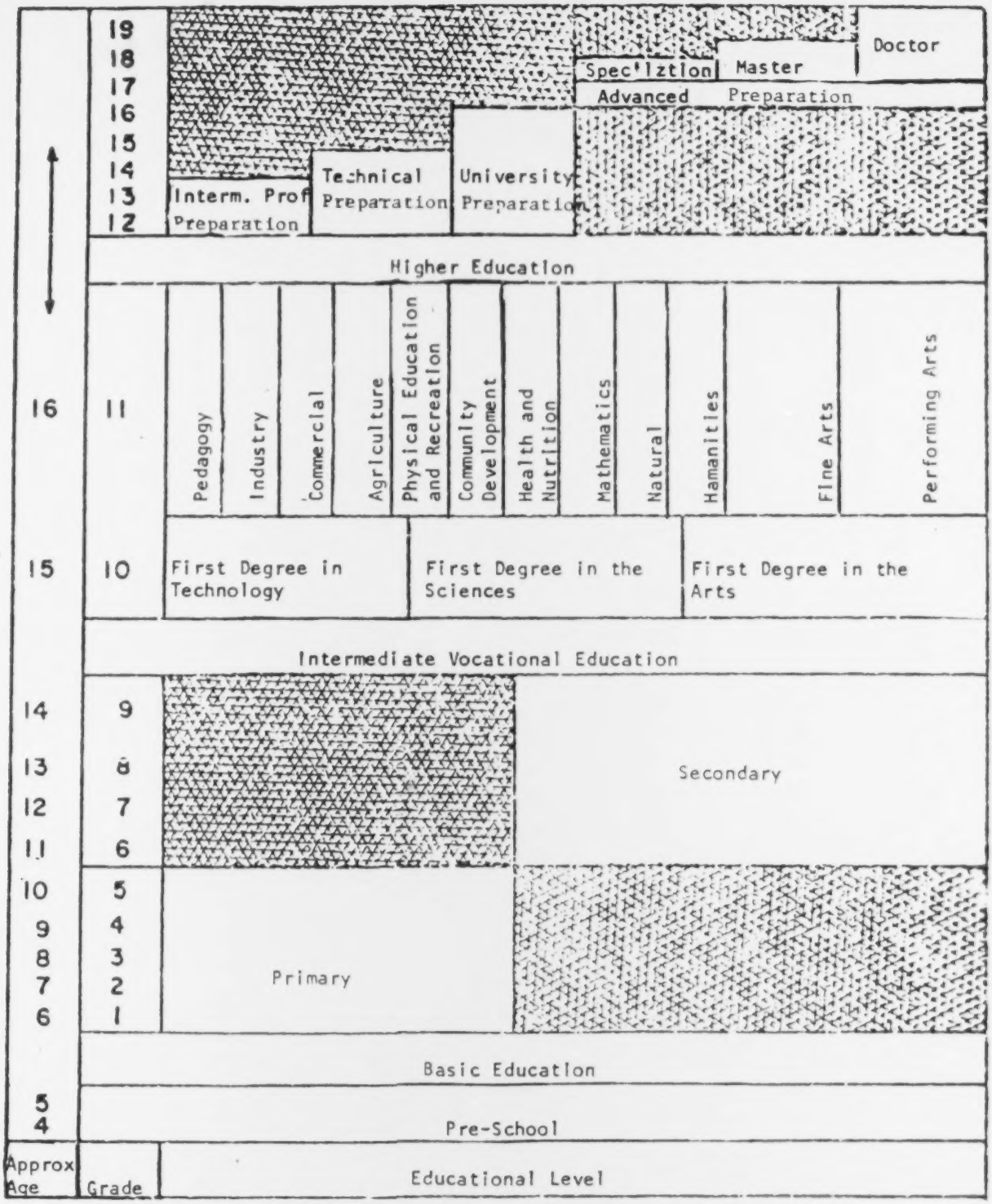

Figure 2

Structure of the Education System of Colombia
(Decree 088 of 1976 and 1419 of 1978)

and to put that experience into a useful social context. It is expected that students will learn to understand reality, to manage it constructively, and, if need be, to transform it. Therefore, it is the duty of all personnel responsible for guidance to assure that the educational atmosphere enhances learning opportunities in accordance with the goals of education and guidance in order that all students may become independent and effective at interpersonal relations, integrating their own experiences, making sound decisions for themselves, and adapting to environmental demands with a sense of reasonable compromise, but also with self-interest.

Structure of guidance

School guidance is intended for all students. As is clear in the underlying philosophy, all of life's roles are addressed, but vocational guidance focuses more on the role of the worker. As is also clear in the philosophy, the worker role is not seen in isolation. It is explicitly the function of guidance workers to help students understand how the worker functions as a citizen, a family member, a social group member, and so on.

Staffing policy. All school personnel are expected to make a contribution to guidance programmes -- administrators by designing programmes which help to attain the guidance objectives; teachers, because guidance is considered one of the cornerstones of the teaching-learning relationship, to promote accomplishment of guidance objectives in the classroom. Specialists in guidance, however, bear the major tasks of formulating, operating, and (at least annually, according to the guidelines) evaluating guidance programmes. Advanced training is available in at least two configurations: permanent certification in school guidance (Experimental Pilot Center, 1985) and training in guidance and educational assessment (Faculty of Education, 1984).

Organizational base. The organizational base for guidance is the schools. The general aims drawn up by the Ministry of Education are implemented, making provision for local, regional, and institutional needs and circumstances, in schools throughout the country. Implementation, of course, is not uniform across the 8 regional territories, the 23 local departments, and the special district of Bogota. Schools, and consequently guidance services, are distributed somewhat in proportion to population density, but as will be shown by data to be presented in a later section, opportunities are not equally accessible in all parts of the country.

Functions of guidance

The specific guidance functions identified by Watts (1981) are not systematically addressed in the guidelines, but the presence of all of them can be inferred readily. The emphasis on self-examination (to identify values, interests, aspirations, and such) and occupational exploration requires *information.* The available training indicated above, the consideration of skills and aptitudes, and references to the diagnosis of intellectual performance all imply that *assessment* is done. The required participation of teachers (who have probably had minimal specific guidance training) suggests that *advice* is likely to be plentiful. The entire educational structure systematically provides *careers education.* Guidance tasks intended to personalize educational experience, and more particularly, helping students to "understand who they are and who they might become" (Laverde, 1982) are unlikely to succeed without *counseling.* Much of the educational experience (especially apprenticeships and vocational training) is designed to be *enabling.* While it is reasonable to assume that each of these functions, in some form, probably exists in most schools, it is equally reasonable to assume that there are probably vast differences among schools. There is little doubt that those local facilities which enjoy better-than-average fiscal support employ more competent professionals, have more abundant materials, and generally offer better services to students than schools which are less favored.

Transition from school to work

Although substantial portions of the Colombian educational system contribute directly to transition from school to work, it is appropriate to examine some aspects of this function in more detail. First, some data about participation in vocational education will be presented and discussed. Then, two programmes of educational specialization will be reviewed.

Participation in vocational education

In Colombia, as of 1983, there were 4369 educational facilities offering programmes in basic secondary and intermediate vocational education. Of them, 3213 (73.5 per cent) offer academic preparation. In urban areas, 87.0 per cent of the facilities offer academic preparation. Despite governmental efforts favoring educational specialization, over the decade from 1973 to 1983, offerings in academic education have persisted, and also have remained concentrated in urban areas. Over the same period, though, the number of institutions offering technical programmes increased by 126 (from 1011 to 1137), while the number offering secondary basic and intermediate vocational education increased by 169 (from 4200 to 4369). Although there is support for increasing the proportion of technical training available, young people continue to seek academic preparation. Apparently, as in many other countries, many more aspire to professional education than can be accommodated.

With some 70 per cent of the population residing in urban areas, it is not surprising that educational facilities are similarly concentrated. As shown in Table 2, those technical programmes which are most directly linked to industry and population density are even more concentrated in urban areas than the academic programmes. Only in the case of agriculture is the majority of programmes outside urban areas, although about one-third of the social development programmes are, as well.

Table 3 reports data about students matriculated in first degree technical programmes. Between 1973 and 1983, the total enrollment increased by about 57.5 per cent. Enrollments dropped markedly in pedagogical and to a lesser extent in industrial programmes and increased in commercial programmes even though the number of institutions offering them did not. Agriculture and community development programmes are offered at the fewest institutions and have the lowest enrollments, but they also increased substantially. These last two are the programmes which provide the most direct benefits to rural populations.

One possible measure of the effectiveness of the system of guidance in Colombia is the extent to which students succeed in and are satisfied with the occupations for which they are trained. Two studies bear on this point. One, a 1983 study conducted by the National Testing Service, a division of the Colombian Institute for the Development of Higher Education, found that higher education enrollees generally had aspirations which were related to the preparation they were receiving. The other, sponsored jointly by the Ministry of Education and the World Bank, surveyed 1826 first degree recipients and found that most of those who were employed had jobs related to their preparation. The results of these studies suggest that the guidance programme was instrumental in helping students to enter suitable and satisfying employment or training.

Specialized training

Two special programmes warrant some attention because they contribute uniquely to the transition from school to work. They are sponsored, respectively, by the National Institute for Teaching Intermediate Specialization and Auxiliary Centers for Teaching Services.

National Institute for Teaching Intermediate Specialization. The National Institute for Teaching Intermediate Specialization (INEM) currently operates programmes in 19 different locations. These are coordinated by a united administration and offer 10 first degree programmes in a single installation. Like other basic secondary and intermediate vocational education schools, they focus on vocational exploration in grades 6 and 7, vocational orientation in grades 8 and 9, and vocational education in grades 10 and 11. Unlike other schools, they offer earlier specialization: a common core of general education diminishes over the course of training from 30 hours per week in grades 6 and 7, to 25 in grades 8 and 9, to 19 in grades 10 and 11; similarly, a core of specialized experiences increases from 5 hours per week in grades 6 and 7, to 20 in grades 8 and 9, but reduces to 16 in grades 10 and 11, where specific specialized instruction is begun. This arrangement provides more intensive opportunities for exploration of a variety of occupational alternatives, but also provides for entry into university education. Thus, students can make more informed decisions as to what course of action they choose to follow in their own lives.

Table 2

Participation in Secondary Basic and Intermediate Vocational Education

(N = 4369 Institutions)

Curriculum	% of National Total	% of Those in Urban Areas
Academic	73.5	87.0
Technical:		
Pedagogical	17.5	97.5
Industrial	9.5	98.0
Commercial	52.8	97.7
Agricultural	14.7	39.5
Social Development (a)	5.7	64.6

(a) including Health and Nutrition, Physical Education and Recreation, and Community Development.

Table 3

Students Matriculated in First Degree Technical Programmes

Programme	1973	1978	1983
Total Matriculated	220,273	348,650	383,532
Pedagogical	25.7 %	21.0 %	16.4 %
Industrial	18.8 %	16.2 %	16.0 %
Commercial	49.5 %	51.6 %	55.7 %
Agricultural	6.0 %	8.3 %	7.9 %
Social Development (a)	-	2.9 %	4.0 %

(a) including Health and Nutrition, Physical Education and Recreation, and Community Development.

The 19 INEMs have 64,140 students enrolled, including 8096 in academic areas, 29,347 in vocational exploration, and 26,697 in technical education. Of those registered in technical areas, 11,091 are in industrial programmes, 10,269 in commercial, 3460 in social development, and 1877 in agricultural. It appears that the success of efforts to increase the proportion of students in technical education is more clearly manifest in INEMs than in the educational system at large. The ratio of academic to technical enrollments is almost inverted. Of course, it must be noted that enrollees in INEM programmes have the same tendencies as others to aspire to higher education. Probably one reason for this is the general knowledge that in the labor force there is a greater demand for people who have had professional education. No data are yet available to compare the relative effectiveness of INEM training and that of other educational programmes.

Auxiliary Centers for Teaching Services. The Auxiliary Centers for Teaching Services (CASD) were created as part of the attempt to emphasize technical education. They represent a concerted effort to make efficient use of facilities and also to improve the quality of technical training. They have several distinguishing features: the centers provide vocational practice while the participating institutions provide academic preparation; the centers offer technical assistance not only to participating institutions, but to others requesting assistance; they coordinate activities with participating institutions; and they offer intermediate education for adults as well as typical- aged students.

First degrees are offered in science, technology, and art. Technical specializations include construction electricity, electronics, metal mechanics, accounting, secretarial, and health and nutrition. Currently, 13 centers are in operation involving 109 participating establishments, and 16,000 students are enrolled in intermediate vocational education. Within another year, it is expected that 7 additional centers will be opened. By maintaining a sensible balance between classroom learning and practical experience, CASDs have the potential to expand and improve technical education in Colombia. They facilitate transition into work without neglecting general education, they avoid over-specialization and help students to maintain some occupational flexibility as they enter the labor market, and they prepare students to be responsive to available employment opportunities.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

Contemplating what ought to be suggested expressly to improve guidance services in Colombia has highlighted for me the inadequacies I bring to the task. Some ideas do come to mind, and, in the context of my own experience and values, they make sense. Nonetheless, I find myself reluctant to propose them. Two convictions justify this reluctance.

In the first place, even though I am confident that the information provided to me is accurate, I know that it is not complete. For example, in the documents I reviewed, there are repeated references to apprenticeships. Yet, I have no detailed information about the apprenticeship system in Colombia -- what its purposes are, who is eligible to enter and at what age, which occupations are involved, how long it lasts, under what circumstances it operates, who is responsible for supervision and evaluation, and so forth. There must be many additional aspects of available services about which I am equally uninformed. Furthermore, what I have written about guidance in Colombia is based on guidelines for implementation, and not on the actual implementation. It is self-evident that guidelines are rarely implemented uniformly. In some locations, no doubt, they are exceeded dramatically, in others met adequately, while in still others limited local resources permit only a rough approximation of them. Clearly, then, I do not have sufficient factual knowledge to propose specific suggestions. It would be audacious to try.

The second reason is more fundamental and just as important. Although I am deeply interested in guidance and have had considerable experience with it in many places, particularly in the United States, I have had no direct acquaintance with guidance in Colombia. I have never been exposed to the social and political imperatives that shape its configurations. I have not lived in the environments that determine its structure. I do not know the professionals who plan its content. I have not worked with the people who receive its benefits. My conviction that these conditions must be experienced in order to make suggestions that bear on them makes me unqualified to do so.

For the reasons elaborated, the only suggestions I can make must be fashioned to help those people who do have the knowledge and experience that I lack. They will be

the architects of alternative solutions to perceived operating difficulties, who will draft their own plans of execution and construct the programmes that guide their charges into an uncertain future. While the suggestions which follow are addressed to professional guidance personnel in Colombia, they may also be useful to similar professionals in other societies.

The first suggestion is that all guidance personnel, not just the leadership, read and carefully consider the thoughts offered by Super (1984) in his remarks that were read at Colombia's First National Congress on School Counseling in October of 1984. He spells out some of the reasons why it is necessary to be cautious about importing, or even adapting, guidance practices from other cultures, or sending personnel into other cultures to be trained. Comprehending that importance is the first step in resolving to exercise the internal initiative which must undergird attempts to improve.

Similarly, it is the people operating within the system who need to inform authorities, such as a ministry of education, about the resources needed to truly implement the published guidelines, and then to expand the guidelines, so even better services can be provided. A professional association can become a powerful advocate of membership concerns. Strengthen the professional association through regular meetings that are efficiently conducted, advertised throughout the country, and offer stimulating professional content. Plan explicit activities which permit members to compose a unified expression of professional goals. Support the association in ways that enable government bodies and the community to perceive that the association speaks for its members.

Recent progress in Colombia suggests that there is support for guidance. Examine existing programmes closely, and where implementation appears to be lagging, invoke that support to bring about change. Learn to muster the support, and generate new sources of support, for further progress. Nothing generates new support as excellent performance does.

To improve performance, find the time to evaluate what is being done, and learn to conduct the evaluation well. Insist that professional training include preparation in the skills needed to do evaluation. Systematic evaluation is likely to reveal the need for additional personnel training or materials that would improve offerings. Authorities with limited resources to dispense may be more readily persuaded by data about needs than by impassioned pleas.

Since there is a close relationship between the skills needed for evaluation and those needed for research, think about the two activities together and plan similar strategies for obtaining the competencies. Undertake research that will help you to understand your clients better, to select more promising guidance trainees, to deliver services efficiently. Because the work of vocational guidance cuts across several academic fields, consider interdisciplinary collaboration. Through journals, correspondence, and professional meetings, communicate regularly with colleagues about the results of your research. Where appropriate, report research findings to government bodies and the public.

One last suggestion. Remind yourself that you have a substantial capacity for self-improvement. Use it vigorously.

CHAPTER V

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN GREECE: CHANGE IN THE MIDST OF TRADITION

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The far-reaching achievements of ancient Greece in the arts, sciences, and politics, combined with repeated struggles for national independence through succeeding centuries have endowed the people of modern Greece with an abiding respect for tradition and a keen valuing of personal dignity and individual accomplishment. These forces work side-by-side in shaping the very fabric of current efforts to accommodate an ever-increasing press toward technological advancement. The sights, sounds, and smells of ultra-modern processing plants are detectable from vineyards and pastures that appear much the same as they must have centuries ago. On almost a daily basis, tradition-oriented families experience the impact of rapid transportation and immediate communication. Thus, the old and the new are blended together in the Greece of today.

Topographically, Greece is much the same as it was at the height of the City-States (though the political boundaries have changed a number of times since then): the Pindus Mountains, running north to south through the country, comprise the bulk of the land mass, 75 per cent of which is not arable; a heavily indented coastline currently extends for over 9000 miles; there are more than 2000 islands, of which 169 are inhabited.

Otherwise, of course, the centuries have brought many changes. In 1983, the population was estimated at 9,898,000, of whom 23.7 per cent were less than 15 years old. It was estimated in 1978 that 70 per cent of the people between the ages of 5 and 19 were in school. Greek is the official language; the predominant religion is Greek Orthodox (97 per cent). The economy is diversified, including manufacturing (textiles, chemicals, metals, wine, food processing, cement), agriculture (grains, cotton, tobacco, olives, citrus fruit, raisins, figs), minerals (bauxite, lignite, oil, manganese), meat production (beef, pork, lamb), and fishing. The labor force is estimated to be 29 per cent in agriculture, 30 per cent in manufacturing, and 41 per cent in service occupations.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN GREECE

By comparison with some nations, vocational guidance in Greece is relatively new. It was not introduced until after the International Labor Organization (Statute 87, 32nd Session, Geneva, June, 1949) had issued recommendations about the importance of vocational guidance to the economies of all countries. Partially in response to those recommendations, but also because it recognized the need itself, the Greek Parliament began enacting legislation which specifically established requirements and assigned responsibility for the implementation and delivery of vocational guidance programmes. Currently, the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Education bear the major responsibility for the delivery of vocational guidance services to adolescents and adults. (OAED, 1978).

The Ministry of Labor took the first important step in establishing vocational guidance when, in 1953, it assigned the responsibility for vocational guidance to the Greek Manpower Employment Organization. Within this agency, the Office of Vocational

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[1] The editor supplied topographic and demographic data from the World Almanac (1985).

Guidance was created. It is the responsibility of this Office to design, implement, and monitor effective guidance services for all people who need assistance of this nature.

At about the same time, the Ministry of Education introduced the theories and philosophy of vocational guidance into the academic instruction of people who were preparing to become teachers, and particularly in the post-graduate training of teachers of secondary education. Since 1976, the Ministry of Education has required that careers education be included in the curriculum in all five years of secondary school.

Greek Manpower Employment Organization

The Greek Manpower Employment Organization (OAED) is the chief legal instrumentatlity for carrying out all governmental policy relating to employment. In this capacity, it is particularly concerned with improving the quality of the supply of potential workers and responding to the ever-changing needs of the Greek economy for expert workers. In responding to these demands, OAED (1983) is a decisive factor in promoting the development of the nation's economic progress.

Specific responsibilities assumed by OAED include the following:

1. Vocational guidance for all people in or planning to enter the labor force.

2. Maintenance of a balance in the distribution of the of the work force.

3. Vocational and technical training of young people, including the management and operation of the apprenticeship system.

4. Professional guidance and instruction of adults, usually provided through short-term courses or on-the-job training.

5. Adminstration and management of several forms of economic aid, including unemployment insurance and special allowances for military service, workers with children, and working students.

6. Allocation of economic aid, in the form of subsidies, to seasonal enterprises which continue to employ workers during their off-season.

These responsibilities are interpreted as implying that OAED must: a) assure that an adequate supply of suitably trained workers is available to fill existing and newly created jobs; b) maintain a balanced distribution, both geographically and structurally, of workers in the labor force; c) help to reduce unemployment; and d) facilitate a smooth vocational and social integration of workers, particularly young workers, into the labor market. It is believed that the vocational guidance offered by OAED is instrumental in alleviating problems that might arise in each of these areas.

Vocational guidance contributes to the solution of the problems just mentioned, or indeed helps to prevent their occurrence, in several ways which are described in some detail in the paragraphs which follow. The descriptions are organized as suggested by Watts (1981).

Conceptual framework

Vocational Guidance in Greece is conceptaulized to address the programme aims identified in the previous section. The basic philosophy (OAED, 1982) is that individual clients must make their own decisions about what they want to do with their own lives. The role of the agency is to provide them with the opportunity to attain as full an understanding of themselves as is possible, to help them understand what kind of work will permit them to implement important personal attributes and gain satisfaction and success, to inform them of suitable information about occupations and related training, and to help them prepare for entry into a job. (see Kalogerou, 1979).

Structure of guidance

OAED has structured vocational guidance services in Greece in such a way as to attain the fullest possible accomplishment of goals with the resources available.

Roles. The vocational guidance services offered by OAED are worker-oriented, they address primarily the role of worker. Even when educational planning is incorporated into the guidance a client receives, it is the vocational rather than the educational motives which are paramount. Educational planning focuses explicitly on helping the client to attain an appropriate vocational goal. Typically, the education and training discussed in this connection continues for a maximum of one year, at the completion of which the client is expected to obtain employment.

Target groups. Although vocational guidance services are made available to adolescents and adults, clients have to initiate the contact. For the most part (OAED, 1984), those who actually seek vocational guidance are adolescents who fall into three categories: those who finish school and have gained the full benefit of the careers education programmes offered, those who leave school before finishing or finish without receiving the full benefits of careers education, and those who have been trying out the labor market on their own without success.

The school graduates who have benefited from careers education are the easiest clients to serve. They have attained a useful level of self-understanding and know something about the labor market. Very often, information about training or employment opportunities meets their needs adequately. Clients who have left school without benefiting from careers education present very different demands. In most instances, they need the full range of services and consume more staff time. The third group is even more complicated. In addition to being quite unprepared for the transition from school to work, many of them have reacted to the suddenness of feeling thrust into the world of work by moving frequently from one unsatisfying and unfulfilling job to another. In addition to their lack of preparation, they have accumulated disappointment, frustration, and sometimes disillusionment. They need a great deal of attention and, often, referral to other services.

Organizational base. The organizational base for vocational guidance is the various offices operated by OAED: 14 vocational guidance offices, 5 newly established employment offices, and 2 rehabilitation offices. In a country the size of Greece, it is impossible to place 21 service installations so that they are equally accessible to all people, so they are located in centers of population density. Vocational counselors manage the offices with the assistance of superintendents recruited from the ranks of OAED. Superintendents receive training in vocational guidance and placement (usually a six-month course), but they are selcted mainly because of their knowledge of OAED operations and their administrative competencies.

Staffing policy. The 21 offices are staffed by 40 counselors. There are also 7 psychologists, but their work is primarily with research and development studies, so they have little contact with clients.

OAED recruits vocational counselors directly and trains them in especially designed courses which ordinarily last six to nine months. Such training has been offered in 1957, 1971, 1973, and 1983. The entrance requirement for the training is a university degree (most often in economics or social studies), a degree in social work, or a primary school teaching degree. In addition to the basic course, at least once a year OAED (1984) organizes seminars which enable professional staff to keep up-to-date. These seminars may include information about the latest policies and other matters affecting operations as well as interpretation of findings and recommendations handed down by scholarly groups such as international associations. Beyond the systematic training provided for all professional staff, some are permitted to attend international conferences, often on a rotating basis, and some have received scholarships for post-graduate studies.

Functions of guidance

All of the functions of guidance named by Watts (1981; also see Law, 1978b) are present in some form in the Greek vocational guidance system.

Information. The information function is probably the most widely used service in the Greek system of vocational gudance. As stated above, some clients (Kalogerou, 1979) find the information sufficient to meet there needs. In fact, data collected at the

vocational guidance centers indicates that most clients find that information is all they need.

Occupational and educational information is disseminated by all vocational guidance offices. Detailed information is maintained on 220 occupations, including data about the nature and conditions of the work, training and educational requirements and opportunities, advancement opportunities, and job outlook. Educational information includes information about options in training and retraining.

Information is made available to all individuals or groups with any interest in occupational choice or career exploration. At the Athens Occupational Information Center (Tzavella, 1980), audio-visual equipment is used to enhance the presentation of information, including a series of slides depicting occupations and a small number of video tapes, both of which are available to clients on a self-service basis.

When vocational guidance was first established in Greece, there was little occupational information readily available. Therefore, the staffs of the vocational guidance centers set about to develop their own. Through this means, OAED has published a variety of materials: booklets on occupations in electronics, graphic arts, natural sciences, tourism, health services, agriculture, forestry, and ship building; 125 short, easy-to-read leaflets for young students on technical and scientific occupations; pamphlets about medical, legal, and journalism professions; monographs about OAED's apprenticeship and accelerated training programmes. In addition, a series of leaflets has been published and distributed to acquaint the general public with the existence of the service.

OAED also conducts research on conditions and trends in the labor market, emphasizing in particular studies of youth employment. Over the last three or four years, at least half a dozen important reports of these investigations have been released.

Assessment. Although considerable effort has been expended, with the assistance of international bodies and experts, in adapting and modifying assessment instruments from other lands, these are not used widely in vocational guidance. Some systematic testing is done in the screening and selection of candidates for entry into apprenticeships, however. In the delivery of vocational guidance, interest inventories, interest questionnaires, and interviewing are the most broadly used methods of assessment.

Advice. In a country such as Greece, where traditional family influence is quite prevalent, many young people receive a great deal of advice. When such advice happens to coincide with the young person's interests, aptitudes, and preparation, no particular difficulty is likely to result. Some youngsters, however, encounter difficulty with family advice (or even pressure). When a student, for example, does not have the capacity to follow the preference of the family (or some other advisor), advice can be quite counterproductive. Students are more likely than older family members to embrace newly emerging occupations. The discrepancy between individual preference and family advice may generate conflict. For clients who present these problems, counseling is usually the best service that can be offered (see Kalogerou, 1983).

The people who serve as vocational counselors in the OAED system also grew up in the Greek tradition and were naturally inclined to offer advice to clients. In fact, most were originally trained to give advice directly. An International Seminar on Vocational Guidance, sponsored jointly by OAED and the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance, was presented in Athens in 1978 (see Law, 1978a). All of the vocational counselors from OAED attended that seminar, and it had a lasting effect on them. Since then, advice-giving by vocational counselors has essentially disappeared.

Careers education. Since careers education in Greece is the province of the Ministry of Education and is offered in the schools, it is treated in some detail in a separate section later in this chapter.

Counseling. As already mentioned, the seminar in 1978 had a profound effect on some vocational counselors. Although acquainted with client-centered counseling methods through their studies (Kalogerou, 1983), it was at the seminar that they came to accept it as the approach they should use. They have come to believe deeply that decisions rest with their clients. Today, client-centered methods are employed universally. In particular, the position taken by Watts (1981) is broadly endorsed: "the counselor is not to diagnose the clients' attributes and recommend appropriate options, but rather to help them to work through their problems, articulating their understanding of themselves, of their present life situations, and of the options available, and subjecting them to scrutiny,

until they are able to reach their own conscious and clearly-thought-out decisions." (pp. 20-21).

Not all clients receive counseling, but when it is provided, it is almost exclusively with individuals. Ordinarily, counseling occurs only when other services do not suffice. When the difficulties presented by clients are beyond the competence of the counselor involved, a referral is made to one of the staff psychologists employed by OAED.

Enabling. In large measure, the OAED vocational counseling programme is designed explicitly to enable clients to move smoothly into the labor force and find productive and satisfying employment. There are a some special features which deserve detailed attention.

A series of work-experience and job-creation programmes called Active Vocational Guidance Programmes, first implemented in 1983, has been prepared expressly for school leavers up to the age of 19. They last for 8 weeks, beginning with an extensive period of vocational exploration. Exploratory experience includes exposure to educational and occupational information; thorough examination of personal values, interests, aptitudes, aspirations, and expectations; and regular visits to work places and training centers. As a result of this exploration, clients acquire considerable self-awareness as well as knowledge of working conditions and opportunities. Then they receive instruction in the techniques of searching for and locating job openings, applying for and obtaining a position, and keeping it. These programmes are especially suitable for the clients mentioned earlier who have spent some years floundering in the labor marker before seeking assistance.

The new employment offices operate programmes especially for unemployed adults. Counselors provide clients with information about training and retraining options that may be open to them. These alternatives may facilitate horizontal movement within the labor force, or for clients who qualify and are willing to make the time investment, movement to higher status employment in an occupation for which there is demand. If training is not needed in order to qualify, a client may be referred directly to a prospective employer. Whether training or employment is the objective, the counselor helps the client directly in obtaining the information and submitting the application.

Similar programmes exist in the two rehabilitation offices (located in Athens and Thessaloniki) mentioned earlier. They are staffed by counselors who have been specially trained to help disabled individuals to find suitable employment, training or retraining.

CAREERS EDUCATION IN GREECE

In 1976, the Ministry of Education mandated that careers education be part of the school curriculum. Since then, it has been implemented gradually with the avowed purpose of helping youngsters, over the course of their formal education, to master the skills, concepts, and knowledge needed for entry into work. In general, guidance is seen as an integral component of careers education.

Structure

A brief description of the Greek education system will put the location of careers education in perspective.

There are four levels of education in the system: primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, and higher education. Entry into first grade typically occurs at age 6. Children proceed through 6 years of primary school, followed by 3 years of lower secondary school. On completion of lower secondary, two general options occur: seek employment or continue with education. For those who choose to go on to upper secondary school, there are three altenatives: 3 years of general lyceum (academic), 3 years of vocational-technical lyceum, or 2 years of vocational-technical school. Graduates of either lyceum may go into higher education, but the vo-tech graduates may pursue only programmes related to there lyceum preparation. The options in higher education are university, 3-year technical college, and non-university teachers college.

Careers education is required of all students in all 3 grades of lower secondary, enabling those who terminate schooling at that point to have at least some preparation for entering work. At the upper secondary level, the first 2 years of the general lyceum and the first year of the vocational-technical lyceum include careers education. None is required at the 2-year vocational schools because that education is intended to facilitate direct entry into employment.

Staffing

Careers education is provided by teachers of any subject-matter area. Between 1976 and 1983, teachers received training (Vazos, 1983) about careers education by means of short-term seminars ranging from three days to two weeks in duration. Through this training process, careers education was introduced gradually into schools all over Greece. Since 1983, a more systematic effort has been undertaken. Three training courses of 5 months each have been provided by the Ministry of Education, and 300 teachers from secondary schools representing all areas of the country have been trained.

Roughly during the same period that these two preparation schemes were in ,effect, from 1978 to 1985, 40 teachers received post-graduate training in careers education in France and the United Kingdom. These teachers now form the central team ,which has the administrative and scientific responsibility for the nationally sponsored careeers education programme throughout the country. They now organize and conduct the training courses for the teachers who actually implement careers education in the secondary schools. They also produce instructional materials and teachers' manuals containing detailed suggestions about how to conduct careers education activities at each grade level.

Content

The content of all careers education in the schools is worker-oriented and is built around the four general aims proposed by Law and Watts (1977), but the the order in which they are treated is somewhat different from theirs: self-awareness, opportunity awareness, transition learning, and decision learning are addressed in that order. At each grade level (Miller, 1978), experiences are planned around the same aims, but the specific activities and expectations become progressively more sophisticated and more complex as students move through the grades.

In 1984, a joint committee composed of selected OAED vocational counselors and careers education central team members compiled the first Occupational Outlook Handbook ever published in Greece. It contains information and projections on 220 occupations. Together with the Guides to Secondary and Tertiary Education, which were published by the careers education central team, the Handbook has proved to be of very valuable assistance to youth in facilitating their transition form school to work.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

Vocational guidance in Greece, since its beginnings, has been very much influenced by practices and trends that prevail abroad. After Greece's entry into the European Economic Community in 1981, because of the constant interchange among government-financed agencies, the influence from other countries has become even stronger. Although there has been continuing and diligent effort in Greece to implement imported ideas only after they have been suitably adapted and modified to meet the social and economic needs of our own culture, some feel that the external influence is excessive. To be sure, in learning from what has occurred in other nations, we manage to avoid some of the pitfalls that they encountered. On the other hand, however, the need remains for us to conceive and construct guidance programmes which are specifically tailored, in every respect, for the people who grow up and live in Greece.

Vocational guidance has "grown up" in greece following two separate, though parallel, pathways, directed respectively by OAED and the Ministry of Education. Even though there has been productive cooperation between the two on significant projects, there has never been complete coordination of their efforts. As the years have gone by, it has become increasingly evident that full and continuing integration of young people's school-based and OAED-based guidance experiences would be enormously beneficial to the entire economy of Greece. It is imperative that we find a way to accomplish this end.

Both agencies, of course, face the same fundamental and persistent problem in dealing with the operating difficulties which remain -- insufficient resources. Although OAED vocational counselors have considerable competence for working effectively with indivicual clients, the small number of offices and the limited number of counselors is not sufficient to cover all areas of the country adequately. On the other hand, though carrers education is now available throughout the country, the teachers have not recived the professional training needed to deal with individual cases, nor do they have either the

time or the facilities for doing so. Besides, with the newness of the expanded programme, they are still preoccupied with the basic exigencies of programme implementation.

If adequate resources were made available (Law, 1978a) to both providers of guidance to correct the deficiencies which presently exist, then substantial improvements in both the quantity and quality of services could be instituted. The schools would prepare students fully with respect to the goals and they would be ready and well-motivated to use the OAED services when the need arose. OAED, in offices convenient to all schools, would attend to individual cases, provide the needed educational and occuational information, and make the rest of its services readily accessible to all.

CHAPTER VI

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN THE COTE D'IVOIRE

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The Côte d'Ivoire is situated in West Africa on the North Shore of the Gulf of Guinea. Formerly occupied by France, the Côte d'Ivoire Republic today is an independent entity and has been since 1960. Its political regime is presidential, and the official language is French.

The country covers 322,463 square kilometers. In 1984, the population was estimated at 9.2 million, including sizeable groups of foreign-born peoples: Guineans, Malians, Burkinabes (approximately 1 million), Libano-Syrians (100,000), and Europeans (60,000). Youth under 15 years of age account for
45 per cent of the population. Abidjan, with about 2 million inhabitants, is the economic capital. Yamoussoukro, where President Felix Houphouet Boigny was born, is located 230 kilometers to the north. It is the political capital and becoming one of the most important cities in the country. The climate is hot and humid in the southern forests, and dry in the Sahel regions of the northern plains.

The predominantly rural economy produces such commercial crops as coffee, cocoa, and tropical fruits, plus foodstuffs such as manioc. Income is also derived from the country's timberlands. Because of its steady economic growth and great political stability, the Côte d'Ivoire boasts a gross national product (estimated at $ 720 per capita in 1983) which is one of the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa. Unfortunately, the coincidental occurrence of a decline in the price of agricultural products and the severe drought of recent years has increased the country's foreign debt and brought a temporary slow-down in economic growth.

Organization of educational and vocational guidance

The administrative structures which had been established by the French during the colonial period were replaced in 1959 by the Office of Selection, Vocational Guidance, and Research and Documentation which was part of the Ministry of Education.

The State's policy of promoting technical and vocational training as a means of meeting the country's labor market needs resulted in the creation in 1970 of the Ministry of Technical Training and Vocational Education, and of a particular section in that Ministry called the Office of Guidance, Selection, Documentation, and Information Services. The co-existence of several such guidance services, each with its own narrowly defined area of responsibility in the training schools and each reporting to a different Ministry, created many problems, not only in coordinating the training of guidance workers and their professional activities, but in the delivery of guidance services to clients as well. Especially vexing was the fact that the prevailing circumstances did not make it at all easy for students to obtain information about the various technical training programmes available or about the career opportunities they led to.

Organizational base

In 1984, the consolidation of the Ministries of Education made possible the regrouping of the various guidance services into a central administrative unit, the Office of Guidance and Financial Aid (DOB), located in what is now the Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research. DOB is the central governmental body responsible for the coordination and supervision of 10 regional Centers of Information and Guidance (CRIO) strategically situated in all parts of the Côte d'Ivoire. Within DOB, the second level of the administration of guidance includes one section called Guidance/Selection and another responsible for Documentation and Information. CRIOs, which are funded by DOB, have

the responsibility for conducting all guidance activities in educational units and for meeting with students and their parents. In addition, there is a network of teacher-advisors in the secondary schools who are provided with materials which can be passed on to students seeking educational and occupational information.

Staffing policy

Until recently, the State's guidance services were staffed largely with French personnel: school psychologists, vocational guidance counselors sent by their respective ministries, and holders of academic degrees in psychology. Ivorization brought in its wake the replacement of French personnel by native employees (who did not necessarily have equivalent training) and the changeover was implemented before requirements for qualification and details of the corresponding career paths had been clearly defined.

Training takes place at the Côte d'Ivoire Center for Studies and Research in Applied Psychology (CIERPA) which has generally recruited about 10 candidates a year from among recipients of university degrees in such diverse disciplines as psychology, sociology, and literature. Since the diploma awarded by CIERPA does not involve an examination which is accepted as a valid guarantee of the qualifications needed for any particular occupational classification, present personnel find themselves in a somewhat precarious position. Their job classification is determined only by their original degree and does not take into account any subsequent professional training that they have had. The fact that job classifications do not necessarily reflect specific professional competencies is causing a number of experienced professional personnel to leave their positions in CRIOs and move into the private sector. Young people are moving into the private sector directly on completion of their CIERPA training. Furthermore, CIERPA recruited no applicants at all during 1984. If appropriate steps are not taken to change this state of affairs, there is a danger that services will become impoverished. It also raises doubts about the future regarding the adequacy of the preparation of technical personnel hired by DOB.

Guidance and the educational system

As already noted, educational and vocational guidance is the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research. Since the essential thrust of CRIOs' activities in the educational arena occurs in secondary schools, it is important to understand the educational system and the levels at which guidance relating to technical and vocational training takes place. School attendance is required for 8 years, from age 6 to age 14. The system is organized into three levels: primary, secondary, and higher education.

Primary school

Primary schooling covers a 6-year period starting with the first year of the preparatory stage and continuing through the second year of the middle stage. Upon completion of primary school there is a very great demand to proceed to secondary school, which can be done only by passing an examination. It is largely because of the competitiveness surrounding this examination that extensive "repeating" of portions of the educational experience, especially the second year of the middle-stage programme, occurs. As a consequence, the average length of time spent in the 6-year sequence of studies is 9 calendar years. Thus, a student who begins school at age 6 will be at least 14 years old, often older, before the mandatory grades are completed, which is required in order to participate in the highly selective recruitment process that controls entrance to the vocational schools.

In 1983, nearly 53,000 students (23 per cent of those enrolled in the second year of the middle stage) left school at this point, including more girls than boys. At this level, there are "centers of vocational training," geared to the trades. Professionally trained "mobile units" travel from village to village recruiting young people for training in agro-mechanics and the building trades. Those who undertake this kind of training can usually look forward to working on rural development projects.

Secondary school

Secondary School consists of two cycles: the first cycle requires four years to complete; the second three years.

First cycle. The four years of first-cycle education are designated as Classes 6, 5, 4, and 3. Once again because of the number of "repeats," the average stay is six years.

Competition for admission into the "sixth" class is very severe, with available slots limited to the number that can be accommodated in the public schools. All who are admitted, however, receive financial support. Because public schools cannot accept all applicants, and because there is a heavy social demand for education at this level, private schools are quite commonplace. In fact, about 31 per cent of first-cycle students are enrolled in private schools.

At the present time, about two-thirds of the young men entering the "sixth" make it into the third class, and only about 50 per cent of the young women do so.

On satisfactory completion of the material covered in the first cycle, the Certificate of the First Cycle (BEPC) is granted. Passing the examination for this certificate is one of the requirements for admission to the second cycle.

Second cycle. The second cycle is equivalent to the lyceum or high school. The required three years are designated Class 2, Class 1, and the Terminal Year. Study at this level leads to to a two-part baccalaureate degree, with the first examination coming at the end of Class 1, and the second at the end of the Terminal Year.

Of those students who successfully complete the first cycle, 43 per cent are admitted into the second cycle. Decisions about placement of students in particular programmes are rendered by a national commission which considers several factors, including: grades received in the various subjects in the first cycle, scores on the BPEC examination, and the students' preferences. All students thus placed receive full financial support.

Also at this level, a substantial portion of students attend private schools. Though the proportion (almost 18 per cent) is smaller than at the first-cycle level, the number is growing.

Nearly half (47 per cent) of those admitted to Class 2 succeed in reaching the Terminal Year. The time required by students to complete this three-year phase of their education has increased recently to its present average of 6.6 years. Apparently, a major reason for this increase has been the re-introduction of the first part of the baccalaureate examination which reduces the success rate at that level.

Higher education

In principle, all those who receive the baccalaureate are either offered a place in an institution of higher learning or are actually placed in one. As at the previous level, these decisions are made by a national commission considering similar criteria: grades received during the second cycle, scores on the baccalaureate examination, the students' wishes, and the availability of space in the various educational units. Some schools also have their own entrance examinations, especially those offering technical education at the university level. Teacher preparation programmes in specialized units such as the Center for Animation and Pedagogical Training and the Ecole Normale Superieure plus the training offered at the university level absorb the greatest number of people holding the baccalaureate.

Placement in technical and vocational education

Since 1970, the Côte d'Ivoire has concentrated on the development of technical and vocational training. The first priority has been the training of qualified workers to fill the existing needs of the labor market; the second has been the establishment of additional technical training facilities (in particular, to prepare engineers and first-line supervisors in technical fields); and more recently, the implementation of a broad system of vocational high schools throughout the country, designed expressly for the training of technicians. Two technical high schools are already in operation, one at Abidjan, the other at Bouake in the center of the country. Many of the graduates of these two schools enter related professional programmes at the university level.

Certain of the technical ministries, namely Agriculture, Post Office and Telecommunications, Public Works, and Transportation, conduct separate recruitment

programmes and operate separate training facilities to meet the personnel needs of their own departments.

Although a few avenues remain open for qualified people to obtain vocational training after completing Grade 5 (the second year of the first cycle of secondary education), it is becoming commonly expected that the minimum needed for entry into a vocational programme in the technical colleges and vocational high schools is graduation from Class 3. As at other levels, admission to these institutions is conferred by a national commission. In some specialties, discipline-specific achievement tests and an interview (intended to assess the applicant's motivation) are sometimes required in addition to the more general entrance examinations. Competition for admission is particularly acute in those technical colleges which do their own student recruitment. As a result of the rigor applied at the point of selection, the percentage of students receiving the diploma in the specialty to which they are admitted exceeds 80 per cent.

An important step was taken at the national level in 1977 when it was decided that the quality of technical education could be improved by instituting a programme of continuing vocational education. In a number of schools offering such training, students are accepted for specified periods of instruction to improve their vocational qualifications by means of training which is directly linked to their employment. To date, however, this kind of education has received considerably more favorable response from management and administrative personnel than it has from rank-and-file employees and their first-line supervisors.

Guidance in the face of economic constraints

The foregoing review of the educational system in the Côte d'Ivoire has shown that a number of competing, and often not very compatible, forces impinge on the prevailing circumstances: large numbers of students terminate their formal education at the end of primary school or at the end of the first cycle of secondary school; the number of students accepted at each level of education is based on the number of job openings expected to be available; certain programmes tend to be oversubscribed; there is a heavy social demand for further education. Operating together, these forces can prove frustrating to both government officials and to the populace. On the one hand, the policy makers believe they are doing the best they can with the resources provided to them; on the other, many aspiring students (and their parents) feel that they encounter unnecessary obstacles to their progress at every turn.

In the period following independence, the Côte d'Ivoire enjoyed rapid economic development. Based on that experience, projections were made about the need for expanded educational services. When economic growth began to diminish, it became difficult to sustain the financial resources needed to continue funding the planned expansion. This is a sequence of events which is likely to be encountered in any developing country.

To date, the response to these changing conditions has not appeared to be systematic or organized. As educational opportunities for young people have improved, aspirations have become elevated, and the demand for more education has continued to grow. The teaching profession, which until recently had absorbed the majority of newly educated young people, has restricted admissions to training institutions. In spite of increasing unemployment among degree-holders at all levels irrespective of their specialties (which has been characteristic of the period from 1981 to 1985), demand for public education remains strong. Because of the unemployment among educated people, the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research has been trying to reduce, or maintain at present levels, the number of admissions to universities and professional schools, and to key the number of admissions to vocational/technical high schools on the number of jobs known to exist in different occupational fields.

The fiscal magnitude of the educational system (42 per cent of the State's operating budget and 13 per cent of the capital and equipment budget) means that requests for increases must be justified not only in terms of the country's needs but also taking into account improvements in the system's internal efficiency.

All of this assumes understanding of the labor market and knowledge of graduation projections as well as strengthening of the entrance criteria by the country's various educational institutions.

If each of these reactions were to occur in isolation, it would be understandable, and perhaps tolerable. Responding constructively to all of them at once is another matter, requiring consistent policy based on dependable information about supply and demand in the labor market -- what the present and future employment needs are, who the people are who can fill the positions, and how workers will be trained to acceptable levels of competency.

Labor market statistics

The "modern" sector (that is, those employment opportunities most directly affected by technological advancement) of the Côte d'Ivoire economy can employ only about 10 per cent of the working population. The majority of employment lies in occupations which require less formal preparation: some artisans, traditional farm work, personal service, and jobs in commerce which require little formal education and training. Farm employment, of course, is rural; the rest may be in either rural or urban areas. In large measure, the formal training system was originally conceived to train managerial and administrative personnel to work in the modern sector, which is almost exclusively located in urban areas.

It was evident in the data presented above about progression through the formal educational system that many more than 10 per cent of school-aged youth -- the working population of the immediate future -- aspire to the kind of education associated with technological employment. While technology can be expected to continue to grow, whether it will grow rapidly enough to absorb all of the highly-trained workers likely to come along in the next decade is uncertain. If not, the difficulties described in the previous section are likely to be exacerbated.

Though the Côte d'Ivoire has an effective data collection and analysis system in place producing useful data about employment and vocational training, the current uncertainties in the economy make reliable predictions difficult to come by. Efforts to improve those data, especially projections, need to be pursued diligently. Furthermore, an effective mechanism must be found for coordinating the policies issued by all of the various ministries which have some interest in economic conditions, demographics, employment practices, and training.

Selection procedures

In developing countries, economic constraints and unemployment limit the effectiveness of a selection process geared to the needs of students to be admitted, and strengthen instead efforts made to tighten the selection process.

In the Côte d'Ivoire, it is mainly at Class 3 level that the selection/placement policy plays an important role in regulating fluctuations in demand. It is also at this level (Class 3) that efforts to use the selection process as a planning tool run into the greatest public resistance.

The demand for training at the level of the second cycle is very high, especially for those students who have struggled through Class 3. Generally speaking, one can say that family pressure to get children into school has created such a demand at each higher entry level that it is not always possible, given the relatively few vacancies and the paucity of employment opportunities, to satisfy all aspirants. By accepting students who have not been selected into the public schools, private schools serve as an "escape valve" for keeping the citizens content. Thus, private technical training at the secondary school level occupies an important position in the educational structure. This is especially so at the Class 3 level, where girls are in the majority: at this level, girls, more frequently than boys, turn to private institutions in order to continue their education because fewer of them are selected into the public educational system, owing in part to their performance on the formal examinations. Even with this alternative route, however, the prospects for girls to move into professional-level jobs is problematic given the small number who pass the examinations.

Because of the growing need for baccalaureate-trained workers in science and technology, students do not always pursue the training programmes they prefer in the second cycle. Among those accepted into further vocational training following successful completion of Class 3, nearly 75 per cent are, in fact, guided into science courses in Class 2. At this point, students who have achieved the minimum required grades for scientific

study may be guided into science/technology training, even if they wish to enter the arts or literature. Such decisions take into account the the needs of the country for workers trained in science and technology.

Less than half of the students who complete first-cycle education are accepted into the second cycle. For those who do not get selected, no suitable solution has been found. Many of them who come from rural settings have no intention of going back: schooling for them has meant the greatest opportunity they will ever have for moving up the socioeconomic ladder; for their parents it has represented the hope that their children might have a different life and livelihood than they had themselves. Under the circumstances, it is very difficult to find one's place again "back home."

At the higher education entry level, the increasing number of baccalaureate degree-holders threatens the government's guarantee that all such applicants will be placed and subsidized. There is also concern about the mediocre quality of some applicants. This plus the difficulty in placing people in jobs in certain occupational fields suggests that selection criteria ought to be more discriminating or more rigorously applied. Perhaps it would also relieve some of the competition at this level to alter financial aid decisions such that aid would not necessarily be automatic, would be apportioned according to family income, and would be awarded only to students admitted to the university.

Guidance and occupational choice

If the overarching goal of vocational guidance is to seek optimal benefits from vocational preparation and, in keeping with group needs and national aims, to enable individuals to find satisfying and productive employment, then it is also important to help young people fulfill their potential and meet their aspirations in finding a suitable place in their society. But the fact is that young people make their way through the educational system of the Côte d'Ivoire without sufficient means to exercise informed choices among the vocational alternatives which may be available to them. When they fill out guidance forms in Class 3, students are asked to indicate which occupation they wish to work in later on, and to choose three of the training options open to them. Though they may be relatively well informed about the organization of the various training programmes and the criteria for admission into vocational and training schools, typically they have very little specific information about the labor force, various job markets, the state of the economy, or the exact content of the vocational training for which they have expressed a preference.

The preferences they have expressed are influenced by parents, friends, and the media. The notions they have about certain occupations are more likely to be superficial or stereotypic impressions than the outcome of sober reflection about their own abilities and interests. A student's preferences may be due mainly to the material rewards envisaged because they are seen as a means of helping the family or the State.

Information furnished by CRIOs tends to deal mainly with the educational paths to occupations rather than with the occupations themselves. The training activities conducted by DOB are similarly focused, emphasizing information to be imparted to students about courses of study rather than occupations, selecting and preparing placement commissions, and organizing selection examinations. Leaflets and pamphlets about various occupational fields are often too descriptive and seem to be aimed more toward information providers (counselors, advisors, professors) than toward the students -- the information users.

Generally speaking, insufficient use is made of some existing information. There are at least three kinds of data available presently: The Office of Planning and Investment in the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research regularly produces statistical reports; available labor pools are reviewed every five years and the reports are assembled as part of the documents used by the Ministry in planning for the future; and the Office of Vocational Planning, at the request of the Ministry, compiles analyses of the labor market and studies of the integration of young diploma-holders into the work force. All of these documents contain information which is potentially very useful to people planning their own careers. Guidance personnel, however, have not been imaginative in exploiting its potential.

Information and guidance services could help students gain a good deal of first-hand information about the labor market and about particular occupations, especially those in the informal sector, where little or no specific vocational training is required. Field

visits to observe industrial installations in operation, presentations by currently employed workers, films about working conditions and such would provide many youngsters with better information than is usually available to them. In this case, too, guidance workers have not been as instrumental as they might.

Some relevant and informative activities have occurred. For example, at the instigation of the Information and Guidance Services, the public television network presented, under the title of "Television for Everyone," a series of films depicting working conditions in various occupations. Each presentation was followed by discussion featuring members of the Ministry of Education, employers, and young workers. This appears to be a device which holds a great deal of promise: it reached substantial numbers and was well received. It should be expanded and used to inform students about a broad range of occupational opportunities.

A group called "Employment-Training" includes members of the Association of Employers of the Côte d'Ivoire. It would be highly desirable to have the information and guidance services represented in this group. Professional guidance workers in direct contact with employers can become better informed about employment opportunities. Working together also increases the possibility of finding joint solutions to mutual problems.

DOB plays no direct part in helping young graduates to conduct a job search or find placement. That role is assumed by the Office of Labor of the Côte d'Ivoire. In higher education, the schools generally take care of placement and follow-up of their own students, and alumni groups play an important part in keeping in touch with graduates.

From the foregoing discussion it can be seen that in the Côte d'Ivoire the transition from school to work is difficult for young people. One publication, "Looking for a Job after Vocational Training," which was distributed in 1981 to graduates of technical and vocational training programmes, proved very helpful. More such information is needed. Under DOB's leadership research on the transition process could be conducted by the Ivorian Center of Research in Applied Psychology, and the findings passed along to students to help them in anticipating the process for themselves. If at the same time, CRIO personnel were to do a thorough job of assuring that student motivations, aptitudes, and aspirations get the fullest possible attention in the selection process, then better informed students would be in a stronger position to exercise greater personal freedom in choosing among the options available to them. In order to be successful in any of the undertakings just described, DOB must be able to rely on a qualified staff of technical personnel. At least two changes would help to improve staff quality. First, since many of the professional activities engaged in by DOB personnel assume specific technical training in psychology, educational methods, and economics, as well as broad knowledge of occupations, only people with appropriate preparation should be appointed to these positions. In particular, the practice of recruiting and hiring holders of university degrees in literature ought to be carefully reassessed. Second, a new job title needs to be instituted -- one which recognizes the unique qualifications of the people who fill the post. A professional title that suitably reflects the competence of the worker can lend credence to the work performed and dignity to the one who performs it. It may also reduce the tendency for personnel to leave the agency for the private sector.

CHAPTER VII

CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS

William C. Bingham

The previous five chapters have presented data about the individual countries studied. The pupose of the present chapter is to bring those data together to note the extent of *national diversity* and its potential impact on guidance, to examine the range of *programme offerings* described in order to obtain a broad perspective on what the possibilities are, and to try to identify *commonalities* which exist among the countries in spite of their differences.

National diversity

A quick glance at Table 4 makes it clear that the countries studied are indeed diverse. Two points of comparison, however, emphasize that diversity: on one hand, Canada, with its 9.98 million square kilometers, has more than 8 times as much land mass as the other four countries combined; on the other hand, in the smallest country, Taiwan of China, with its 530 people per square kilometer, is more than 7 times more densely populated than all of the others considered together.

Before proceeding with a discussion of the rest of Table 4, some disclaimers are in order about the data it contains. They were either extrapolated from other data provided by the authors of the chapters or taken from the *World Almanac* (1985) or from official Unesco sources. Since data collection procedures vary from one country to another, available data are not always parallel. Not all of them were collected (or estimated) for the same year, and the sources were not always in agreement. All percentages have been rounded to two digits. For these reasons, the data must be regarded as approximations, but for the observations which follow, approximations serve well enough.

Table 4

Comparison of Countries Studied on Selected Variables

Variables	Canada	Taiwan of China	Colombia	Greece	Côte d'Ivoire
Area (sq km) (a)	9,976,139	35,857	1,138,914	131,944	322,463
Population: (b)					
total	25,605,000	19,000,000	28,714,000	9,932,000	9,797,000
per sq km	2.57	529.88	25.21	75.27	30.38
urban	76 %	(c)	69 %	58 %	32 %
< 15 yrs old	23 %	31 %	37 %	22 %	45 %
> 59 yrs old	14 %	4 % (d)	6 %	18 %	5 %
Labor Force in:					
agriculture	5 %	17 %	25 %	29 %	75 %
indust & comm	44 %	41 %	21 % (e)	30 % (e)	25 %
services	38 %	32 %	18 %	41 %	(f)
Prevalent climate	Temperate to Frigid	Tropical to Sub-tropical	Temperate to Tropical	Temperate to Sub-tropical	Tropical
Official language	English/ French	Mandarin Chinese	Spanish	Greek	French
Predominant religions	Protestant Roman Catholic	Buddhist Taoist Confucianist	Roman Catholic	Greek Orthodox	Indigenous Moslem Christian
Literacy rate (g)	99 %	89 %	88 %	92 %	43 %

(a) Unesco Statistical Yearbook, 1984 (1982 data).
(b) World Population Prospects, 1982, United Nations.
(c) No specific data were located. Given the population density and the proportion of sparsely populated land, the rate of urban concentration must be very high.
(d) 65 and older. (e) Manufacturing. (f) See discussion in text.
(g) The Current Literacy Situation in the World, Office of Statistics, Unesco, July 1985.

Bearing these limitations in mind, it is suitable to examine selected *population* dimensions, the structure of the *labor force*, and some important *cultural factors* and consider the effects their diversity may have on guidance practices.

Population

In relation to effective delivery of guidance services, dispersion of population is more germane than absolute numbers. In this connection, the countries included in this study are very diverse, ranging from 530 people per square kilometer in Taiwan of China to only about 2.56 in Canada, with the others ranging between these extremes (Greece, 75.27 per sq km; Côte d'Ivoire, 30.38; Colombia, 25.21). This is not to say, of course, that guidance is automatically better because population density is either greater or lesser, but rather that it does make a difference in how guidance services are organized and delivered.

Demand and accessibility both require that services be located where population is concentrated. This imperative has two self-evident effects on guidance services. In the first place, concentration of clients makes central coordination of service delivery easier to accomplish. Secondly, no matter how effective the coordination is, in remote areas (the frigid regions of Canada, for example, or the sparsely-populated islands of Greece) it is likely to be difficult to maintain on a regular basis. Obviously, it would be less expensive to arrange a face-to-face meeting of all guidance workers in Taiwan or Greece than it would be in Colombia or Canada.

Good central coordination, though, does not necessarily translate into good service. Whether equal access to mediocre guidance is more desirable than unequal access to better guidance is an issue that needs to be resolved in terms of local resources, needs, and expectations. Since official governmental statements about guidance services necessarily are inclined to be all-inclusive, the issue is more likely to be settled at the operating level, perhaps by default, than at the policy level. In Malaysia (Watts, 1978), for example, the Ministry of Education proposed in 1967 that every primary and secondary school appoint a guidance-teacher who was to be excused from all extra-curricular duties and five periods of teaching per week in order to perform guidance functions. The evidence mustered by Watts suggests that, as of 1978, such assignments had actually been made in only about one-third of the secondary schools and that many appointees had not been released from extra-curricular responsibilities. Though the Japanese Ministry of Education (Fujimoto, 1976) has published guidelines for educational and vocational guidance in middle schools since 1958 and in high schools since 1960, by 1971 they had been fully implemented in only 62 per cent and 72 per cent of the respective schools. Although teacher-counselors were actually functioning in all secondary schools at that time, only about half of the high schools and 18 per cent of the middle schools provided released time. Such data underscore what every practitioner knows from direct experience: it often takes considerable time for resource allocation to catch up with policy makers' intentions.

Age distribution within the population can have a powerful impact on the decisions made as to which client roles are to be addressed by guidance services. In the countries studied, as shown in Table 4, the proportion of the population under age 15 varies from less than one-quarter in Canada to nearly one-half in Colombia and the Côte d'Ivoire. These facts combined with the perceived significance of the first transition into work are probably sufficient justification for the widely-observed focus of vocational guidance on young people, but there are other reasons as well. In the analysis of each country there is some reference to young people who leave school prematurely or manage to meet graduation requirements without gaining the full benefit of their educational programme. More pointedly, where only 28 per cent of the population complete primary school, as in Colombia (*World Almanac*, 1985), or as in the Côte d'Ivoire[1], where compulsory school attendance appears to be relatively new and actual attendance rates are difficult to ascertain, it can be seen as imperative to reach young people early so the skills they need

[1] Data are ambiguous. Perrier reports 8 years required, but says nothing about attendance rates beyond noting that, in 1983, 23 per cent of 8th-year enrollees left at that point. No doubt some students leave earlier. Furthermore, the World Almanac (1985, p. 553) reports "Years compulsory: None: attendance 75 per cent".

to manage a smooth transition into employment can be transmitted in time to be of some use.

An additional reason that vocational guidance may be aimed primarily at young people is that they are seen as the workers of the future. Young people are the ones who are more attracted to new opportunities, who are usually less committed to prevailing traditions, who are free of the burden of unlearning old habits and attitudes. In the customary view, they are likely to confront emerging conditions as a romantic challenge more than as a threat, although there is evidence of some recent change in this regard (see, e. g., Aubrey, 1983 and Schwebel, 1984). Nonetheless, the fact remains that young people will constitute a major portion of tomorrow's work force, and the hope remains that the adaptive competencies they acquire through vocational guidance will stay with them all of their lives.

But older people, as well as youth, will constitute a significant portion of tomorrow's labor force. This point can be illustrated, perhaps in the extreme, by recent changes in the structure of the United States population. Less than two decades ago -- about 1967 -- demographers estimated that half of the US population was less than 25 years old. Now, there are projections that by the end of the century, more than half will be over 55 years of age. In the course of a single generation, the United States will have shifted from a predominantly young to a predominantly aging society.

Not all societies, of course, can anticipate the same severe alteration in population structure that the United States has undergone, although Japan (Ogasawara, 1985) is currently experiencing unusually rapid growth in the size of its oldest age group. Judging from the data in Table 4, however, none of the countries of the present study seems to face that prospect imminently. But general advances in medical technology and health care suggest that life expectancy will increase in many parts of the world. As the modal group of prospective clients becomes older, substantial portions of them will be left with unmet needs if guidance services are not modified accordingly. Even though many older people may work only part-time (Watts, 1984), and the proportion of them who do work varies (Ogasawara, 1985) from one country to another (ages 60 - 64: Japan 78 per cent, United Kingdom 73 per cent, United States 61 per cent, France 48 per cent, Federal Republic of Germany 42 per cent; ages 65 and over: Japan 41 per cent, United Kingdom 20 per cent, United States 19 per cent, France 8 per cent, Federal Republic of Germany 7 per cent), the numbers are substantial and are likely to increase over the next few decades. Furthermore, since reported income often reduces retirement benefits, it is reasonable to assume that some portion of older workers work in the informal economy and do not report their income. Probably the numbers of older workers engaged in some form of remunerated employment is greater than appears in the official data.

According to one study (see Sinick, 1984), three-fourths of the people surveyed would prefer to continue with some level of employment after formal retirement. The desired employment may be part-time, or seasonal, or even casual and occasional, but the perceived importance of continuing to make a social contribution through work is quite clear. Some workers, of course, see post-retirement employment as essential to their economic survival, but even in the absence of economic necessity, the desire to remain productive appears to be very strong.

As with other workers, possibly even moreso, older workers need to feel that their efforts are valued in their society, but the kind of help they need is not the same as for those entering the labor force for the first time. Notably, older workers' priorities (Ogasawara, 1985) for implementing personal attributes are the reverse of those expressed by young people, with physical adaptibility being most important, intellectual ability second, and interests last. Furthermore, and understandably, most older people prefer to work in areas related to the job experience they have already had.

In recent decades, the number of older people participating in formal or vocationally relevant education and training has increased significantly. As accumulating knowledge about adult development penetrates some of the myths surrounding the ability of aging people to engage in profitable learning (Havighurst, 1980), it is reasonable to expect in the years ahead that the numbers of adults of all ages who return to some kind of education will increase even more rapidly than over the last decade or two. Concomitantly, the number of countries directing professional attention to adaptation needs over the life span and to the guidance and counseling of adults, as is already occurring in the United Kingdom (Watts, 1979), Canada (Peavy, 1981; Hopwood, 1982), and the United States (Knox, 1977; Schlossberg, 1977), can be expected to increase.

Just as there are myths about the ability of older people to learn, there are myths about the productive potential of older workers (see Sinick, 1984). These myths, too, will be dispelled by mounting evidence of effectiveness and broadening acceptance in the workplace of the significant contribution that can be made by older workers, especially as they demonstrate ability to adapt to changing demands and to accommodate to retraining made necessary by technological change.

Technology not only creates a need for specific vocational retraining, but for general academic education as well. The latter, of course, provides workers with the broader knowledge base required for flexible responsiveness to the changing complexion of work, home, and social environments that invariably accompanies rapid change. In a sense, though, technology does compensate for the training demands it imposes by providing the means for speedy reaction to them. Where it once took from three to ten years for a machinist to become fully qualified (Inaba, 1985), computer-controlled equipment now permits mastery of the same production tasks in six months, and computer-assisted instruction permits large numbers of learners to acquire new knowledge with minimal individual attention.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion it can be argued that guidance must be differentially formulated and executed to meet the needs of various age groups. In vocational guidance, of course, the worker role needs to be addressed at all ages, but the manner of doing so appears to be age-related (see Bingham, 1983). Necessarily, efforts to use personal experience in exploring occupational alternatives will be almost entirely anticipatory for young people, are likely to be primarily retrospective for older workers, and then become some personalized combination of retrospect and anticipation for workers facing the transition of disengagement from the workforce. Furthermore, self-perceptions as worker tend to change with development, from those of neophyte acquiring greater proficiency in anticipation of future advancement, to those of veteran trying, possibly struggling, to maintain present or regain former occupational status, or to establish new occupational directions. The first time around, all workers may require assistance with the transition from school to work. Later in life, many of them may also need assistance with the transition from work to school. Still later, most will be able to benefit from help in managing the demands of increased discretionary time. In short, guidance services designed for beginning workers cannot be transformed to accommodate mature ones simply by "hanging out a new shingle"; different tools and different strategies, fashioned explicitly for each client group to be served, need to be built into each guidance function.

Labor force

Comparable data on the distribution of the work force have been most elusive, apparently because the categories of occupations are defined differently in the countries involved. As can be seen in Table 4, it is only in Greece and the Côte d'Ivoire that the totals reach 100 per cent. It is understandable that the others do not because several groups of occupations are not accounted for -- among them, fishing, mining, communication, transportation. Because they are primary occupations, fishing and quarrying, though important in their own right to Greece's economy, may be included with agriculture. Others may have been classified under either manufacturing or services. The case of the Côte d'Ivoire is somewhat different. The source of these data listed only two categories: agriculture (75 per cent) and industry and commerce (25 per cent). While it is possible that 75 per cent of the people in the labor force are actually engaged in agricultural work, especially if farming is not highly mechanized, it seems equally likely that the processing and transportation of agricultural products might be included in this figure. The total omission of the services classification was mystifying: it is difficult to imagine a city like Abidjan without fire fighters, attorneys, physicians, police officers, or tour guides (or a government bureaucracy, even a relatively small one, without clerks). Though data about proportions are still absent, it was reassuring to find evidence in Perrier's report that some of these occupations do exist. Incongruities in these labor force data should be borne in mind during the following discussion.

One of the universal effects of the Industrial Revolution was its impact on agricultural production. Per-acre output was increased enormously while the number of workers required to operate farms was reduced. More recent technological progress has accelerated that tendency, especially in parts of the world where the effects of earlier developments have been less sweeping. In a general sense the proportion of people

engaged in agriculture is a reasonably dependable estimate of the level of technological development. Though Canada has the smallest proportion of its labor force in agriculture, it nonetheless exports large quantities of crops, especially grain, in part because of technology, and in part because it is endowed with broad expanses of fertile plainlands. As Katz pointed out, Taiwan of China also exports a good deal of its agricultural products, but because of intensive production rather than ample space. The Côte d'Ivoire exports more than it imports (*World Almanac*, 1985) in part because its tropical climate produces agricultural products which are in heavy demand in more densely populated temperate zones where they cannot be grown. In view of the world-wide trend, all of the countries studied can expect to place increasingly smaller portions of their work forces in farming occupations. Taiwan has already experienced brisk change in this connection; because of its currently low rate, the impact will be felt less in Canada. Over all, many people, most of them better educated than their predecessors, will have to be placed in job slots that currently do not exist.

Jobs created by technological change, especially in the information economy, will be in fields that require not only more but a different kind of education. Modifying educational programmes to meet the changing requirements will almost certainly strain resources, especially in developing economies (see Super, 1983): classes will remain larger than desired, curricula will change more quickly than new materials can be supplied, and teachers will face shortages of modern instructional equipment. Since appetites for schooling (not necessarily the same as avidity for learning) have already been whetted by the perceived promise of social and monetary rewards, the press for expanded educational opportunities undoubtedly will be sustained. As has been observed in a different context (see Watts, Super, and Ferreira-Marques, 1978), such a combination of circumstances may have far-reaching consequences for many components of vocational guidance.

When technological change affects enormous numbers of people at one time, the consequences can be even more impressive. Exactly what the changes will be in particular places is very difficult to predict. Almost certainly some fluctuating interaction between stimulation of the economy and dislocation of persons will occur; more certainly the effects will not be identical in all places. A brief digression into the history of one industrial development that foreshadowed the beginnings of vocational guidance may help to sketch out some of the different results of what appear on the surface to be similar events.

The Industrial Revolution (Smith and Nyman, 1962) had its most powerful impact on the cotton textile industry about the turn of the 19th Century in England and about 1810 in the United States (specifically New England on the Northeast Coast). In England, the new textile mills replaced a firmly-established home-based textile industry run by individual craftsmen with the aid of their wives and children. For these workers, hours were very long, wages pitiful, and unemployment always a risk, but they controlled their own working schedules and were able to move into leisure and family activities as they chose. When industrial centralization displaced employment from cottage to factory, comparable conditions prevailed but in some respects they worsened: the former craftsmen became operators regulated by machines indifferent to their fatigue; they surrendered their control of working conditions; they were open to exploitation; and the custom of using children in the cottages was carried into the mills. Relentless competition fed by ever-increasing productivity brought prices down to the point where hand weaving was eliminated.

The United States went through a similar change from handwork to factory production, but the effects were very different: the introduction of power equipment created a new industry (replacing home manufacture for home use, rather than displacing an established industry); the less expensive fabrics made available by mass production relieved homemakers of unwelcome chores; the declining US sea trade provided the mills with capital formerly invested in shipping and labor formerly employed in seafaring. As there was no pre-existing industry, hours, wages, and working conditions were patterned after those prevailing in other local enterprises such as shops and stores. Because it was not customary to hire young children in the seaports where the industry began, they were not employed in the mills. The difficulties of trans-Atlantic shipping offered protection from competition by imported merchandise.

Over the long run, both the English and the North American adaptations to technological change were followed by significant social problems, but by comparison, those in the United States were slight.

Invariably technological change brings alteration in the structure or composition of the labor force that makes new demands on guidance services. The previous discussion suggests that, although the change may be inevitable, there is reason to believe that its impact will not be the same in all cultures. In order to be constructively responsive, therefore, guidance specialists, in addition to having a working knowledge of the dynamics of the labor force, need to be intimately acquainted with the culture in which they function.

Cultural factors

The data in Table 4 about language and religion demonstrate a great deal of diversity among the countries studied. There is little overlap across them in terms of prevailing or official language. Although French is the official language of the Côte d'Ivoire and one of two official languages of Canada, in each case, it is not the first language of a majority. French-speaking Canadians are a significant and influential minority, but by Conger's data they comprise about one-fourth of the population. In the Côte d'Ivoire, the proportion whose first language is French is unclear. Presumably, most of the 60,000 Europeans identified by Perrier are French, but they are a small fraction of the 9 million total. Inasmuch as French has been a prominant language in the region for well over a century, it is likely that many indigenous people grow up in bi-lingual families, but probably not a majority consider French their mother tongue.

Regarding religion, Christianity predominates if considered collectively, with an overwhelming majority in Greece, Canada, and Colombia and an influential minority in The Côte d'Ivoire. If the sects are considered separately, then it is only Roman Catholicism that overlaps significantly, with a vast majority in Colombia and a large minority in Canada, and probably a smaller minority in the Côte d'Ivoire. One piece of evidence suggests that it is useful, at least in the reported context, to view the Christian sects separately: although Roman Catholic boys in Belfast stay in school longer, they are less successful than Protestant boys in finding employment (Cormack, Osborne, and Thompson, 1980).

The importance of religion and language as elements of culture which influence the shape of guidance services probably cannot be overstated. For example, a careful reading of the descriptions of provincial guidance programmes in Conger's report on Canada reveals a fundamental difference between predominantly French-speaking and Roman Catholic Quebec and the predominantly English-speaking and Protestant other three. The philosophical tone of the Quebec model appears affective and intuitive and seems to express faith that if the participants make their respective contributions desirable outcomes will accrue. The tone of the others is more logical and sequencial, and assuring concrete outcomes seems to be of more concern. It is not possible to sort out for certain how much of these differences can be attributed to either language or religion, but each probably has an important impact. The meaning that behavior has in a particular culture is anchored in its historical legacy, in the roots it gives to personal identity, and in the cognitive codes that prevail (Lebra, 1976 cited in Watanabe and Herr, 1983). Language and religion are intricately interlaced with all three.

The interaction that language and religion have with culture assures that they will also influence the philosphy which underlies guidance. Watanabe and Herr (1983) pointed out an important philosophical difference in thinking styles in the United States and Japan: people think verbally in the former, nonverbally in the latter. Super (1983) underscored the importance of accounting for such cultural differences in dealing with decision making in guidance. They warrant equally careful attention in all guidance functions.

In the present study, authors of the respective chapters only infrequently referred to sex differences: in Canada, some occupational information is addressed to women, though they are not singled out for special attention in employment counseling; females are exempted from military service in Taiwan of China; girls in the Côte d'Ivoire tend to do poorly on examinations related to educational progress and vocational training and have scant hope of securing professional-level employment.

This last point needs discussion in the context of cultural factors. As the mechanization of industry has spread, its effects have made their way into the home, reducing the hours needed to dispose of once highly time-consuming chores, thus releasing many women to move into the labor force. Although that additional workpower has been

welcomed with open arms at times of crisis (war, for example), by and large, women have been accepted otherwise only into low-paying, relatively powerless, and not especially self-fulfilling positions (see Bingham, 1976 and 1978). Periodic social-action movements over the last century or so (most dramatically exemplified in the United States over the last two decades) have tended to reduce resistance to the employment of women, but discriminatory hiring practices, differential wages scales, and attitudes of employers continue to restrict opportunities. Even the attitudes of guidance specialists appear to be obstructive to equalization of opportunities (Bingham and House, 1973a, 1973b, 1975).

Although the most visible progress in opening attractive jobs to women has occurred recently, the movement of women into the labor force has been a long-term trend. Fichandler (1962) has shown that between 1870 and 1950 while the number of male workers in the United States increased by barely 400 per cent, the number of females increased by over 900 per cent. As technology advances in the countries studied in the present analysis, it is to be expected that women will more eagerly seek employment outside the home. It is likely that they will encounter the same justifications for exclusion that have prevailed in the United States. The poor performance on examinations by young women in the Côte d'Ivoire will no doubt be used to argue that women are inferior and therefore not fit for demanding (and satisfying) employment. But the evidence does not support that argument. The reasons for lower success rates of women in education and work are demonstrably more cultural than genetic. What guidance workers might do (Sundal-Hansen, 1984, for example) to assure that creative talent is not lost by providing inferior education for women and then excluding them from responsible employment poses demanding challenges.

Attempting to function in an unfamiliar culture can pose unexpected hazards: impediments to conversation (McWhirter, 1983), role confusion (Webb, 1983), or obstacles to self-disclosure (Pratomthong and Baker, 1983; Shahmirzadi, 1983). Ineptness in any of these areas can seriously reduce the effectiveness of guidance. Whether an individual is autonomous in occupational selection as in Canada (Robertson and Paterson, 1983), subordinated to work force needs as in Ethiopia (Yusuf and Bradley, 1983), or mutually imbedded with society as in Botswana (Katz, 1983), guidance specialists must devise interventions that make contextual sense in the culture. Otherwise, vocational guidance will not provide the service clients expect and deserve.

Programme offerings

The ramifications of the national diversity discussed in the previous section have a direct bearing on each of the funtions included in guidance offerings.

Information

All of the countries studied have developed systems of educational and occupational information for use in their guidance programmes, but variety exists in the form of materials and the methods of delivery. All of them appropriately make extensive use of schools, though in the Côte d'Ivoire materials contain more infomation on education than work, and in Colombia the exact form of materials is not indicated. The use of computers is extensive in some parts of Canada and beginning in Taiwan. Audio-visual dissemination is widely used in Canada and has seen an important beginning in Greece. The use of television in the Côte d'Ivoire is especially suitable for a country with a lower literacy rate than the others.

New guidance programmes always have trouble locating relevant information. In Greece, the OAED staff attacked this problem head on by developing their own, even though they realized that the demands of doing so are enormous. Specialists in other countries where existing occupational information is limited may be willing to make the investment and attempt to emulate the Greeks, but prior communication with OAED will probably help them to learn from the Greek experience. Better still, Tzavella and her colleagues might consider broader dissemination of the published accounts of how they progressed: the obstacles and frustrations they encountered, and the rewards of their accomplishments -- in effect, the joys and sorrows of their efforts -- so a larger number of outsiders can benefit from their successes and failures. In his chapter in this volume, Katz also offers some useful suggestions.

Assessment

Across the countries studied, specific applications of assessment procedures vary considerably. Though all of them employ test data in educational decision making, in Taiwan and the Côte d'Ivoire, test scores regulate progress through the entire educational structure. Certainly in Greece and Taiwan of China, and probably in Colombia, the relevance of test data to occupational choice may be ignored or overridden by family preferences. Assessment data are used most directly to meet the needs of the economy in the Côte d'Ivoire and almost exclusively in Canada to foster self-direction.

The development of assessment procedures is time-consuming and expensive, so new programmes tend to borrow heavily in this area from societies with more advanced guidance programmes. All of the countries studied have done so, sometimes using the assessment instruments unmodified, sometimes developing local norms, sometimes making extensive modifications to fit local needs. Commendably, CEIC in Canada has developed its own version of the GATB and its own vocational interest inventory and is currently undertaking an extended test development programme. The resources needed to proceed as Canada has done may not be readily available, especially in developing countries. In such cases, it may prove useful to consider Mehta's (1980) recommendation and concentrate on informal assessment procedures (which are usually less expensive to develop) or, as the Greeks did, train guidance workers to sharpen their interviewing skills for use in making assessments.

Advice

In one way or another, all of the countries studied place considerable value on self-direction and individual choice regarding occupational destinations. In Taiwan of China, though just emerging, it appears to be blending comfortably into the culture. It is frequently outweighed by societal needs in the Côte d'Ivoire and is no doubt often impeded by individual economic and social circumstances in Colombia and Greece. For these reasons, at one point or another in the guidance process, clients probably receive some form of advice from professional guidance workers (who though not intending to be advice-givers will be perceived as such) and family members and friends. It will be more prevalent where teachers with minimal specialized training serve some role in the guidance process.

Exactly what the purpose of advice ought to be in a guidance programme depends on the local mores and customs, of course, but its place is not well understood because it appears not to have been the subject of any systematic investigation. It would behoove workers in cultures which value advice to study the matter carefully in an effort to understand its usefulness. Good research in this area may be equally helpful to workers who shun advice-giving, even if only so they can help their clients make effective use of it when it is offered.

Careers education

Two points need to be made regarding the careers education as it is offered in the countries studied in this analysis: the first relates to the basic content of the instruction; the second relates to those young people who do not receive the benefits they expect.

Canada and Greece seem to have accomplished some infusion of careers education into the curriculum. Both include in basic instruction activities which explicitly provide for facilitation of self-understanding and its application to occupational options and provide instruction in decision making. In some sections of Canada, work experience in some form is closely integrated with school experience, at least for some students. In Greece, school-based education is not so closely linked to the work setting, but the continuing education offered to those already employed is linked to their work. Colombia has accomplished a more limited kind of infusion through its Auxiliary Centers for Teaching Services where students obtain vocational practice at the centers while receiving academic instruction at their schools. The remaining two countries offer considerable technical and vocational education, but in general it appears to be of a more traditional type. In Taiwan of China, decision making is beginning to get attention, but it appears to be only through the adjunctive use of computers and not as an integral part of the

instructional programme. In the Côte d'Ivoire, guidelines imply that such activities ought to be part of the instruction, but the evidence that they have indeed been implemented in large measure is not very persuasive.

In all five countries there is evidence that some people leave school prematurely and others do not receive as much public education as they would like. In their aspirations for ultimately higher-level employment, parents in the Côte d'Ivoire send their children to private schools and those in Taiwan send them abroad. In some measure the same practices probably occur in the other countries, but authors apparently did not regard them as substantial enough to report. Those students who drop out of school and those who are forced to resort to alternative means of reaching their educational objectives intensify the strain on the system. Educational structures which encourage aspirations toward white-collar jobs, as is clear in the Côte d'Ivoire, or reinforce cultural valuing of maximum education for all, as appears to be the case in Taiwan, exacerbate the problem. As Watts, Super, and Ferreira-Marques (1978) observed, such aspirational patterns have two predictable consequences: students who do not share the aspirations become disillusioned with schools that foster them; students who do share them become disenchanted with blue-collar jobs of equal importance to the economy. In either event, society suffers on two counts: educational and vocational guidance is overburdened because these under- and over-aspiring clients need intensive service at various points over their life spans, and important talents are lost to the economy.

Counseling

As noted in Chapter I, counseling is the most difficult of the guidance functions to implement. There are two reasons for this. The first is simple and straight-forward: counseling requires more professional training and experience than the other guidance functions. Of the countries studied, Canada probably has the largest number of well trained counselors. In Conger's view, however, the best trained of them -- mostly school counselors -- spend relatively little time attending to vocational development.

When resources are more limited than Canada's and the need is perceived as urgent, the cost in time and money make it easy to postpone the steps necessary to acquire the competencies associated with effective counselor performance, and to adopt instead some short-cut measures in order to put workers, even though they may not be ready to measure up to the challenges of the assignment, into direct contact with clients. When OAED's leaders in Greece saw the need for dramatic improvement in education for transition from school to work, they invested about five years and considerable money to send a cadre of teachers abroad to study other programmes. There is no doubt that the need for trained counselors requires at least as much attention and concern as the Greek leadership invested in improving their educational system. Although the short-cuts may be tempting, they need to be evaluated in terms of whether they actually serve a constructive purpose.

The second reason that counseling is difficult to implement is more complex but no less important: counseling makes the most incisive demands on personnel in terms of understanding the culture, or subculture, of the client. Indigenous groups within a society may require particularized understanding. There are some such people in Canada, Taiwan, and Colombia, few if any in Greece, and many in the Côte d'Ivoire. Most approaches to counseling are based on assumptions that may be irrelevant when working with clients from cultures different from those in which counseling has been most highly regarded. Obviously, the observations made above about the effects of different cognitive styles on decision making apply as well to counseling, perhaps moreso. The problem may be more acute in Tropical Africa: as reported by Esen (1972; cited by Okon, 1983), assumptions about self-direction are so foreign to some Africans as to make counseling in its usual Western form inapplicable. Okon, in writing about Nigeria, argues that counseling must be based on indigenous philosophy. To what extent the same argument holds for the Côte d'Ivoire is not certain, but it is worth considering. It is also worth considering in relation to cultures outside of Africa but different from those in which counseling has a tradition of high regard.

In all of the countries studied, it makes sense to follow the lead of the Greeks -- not necessarily in sending people overseas to be trained, but in investing the time and money to assure that suitable training is obtained. To provide more effective services to indigenous people, it may prove most profitable to recruit people from the indigenous

groups and invest the time and money in training them as guidance specialists and then enlisting their help in formulating the kind of philosophical base that will make all guidance functions, not only counseling, relevant to their culture.

Enabling

All of the countries studied see vocational and technical education as an important aspect of preparation for work. Even in those countries where resources are hard to come by, there have been substantial investments in training facilities. In particular, Colombia has made important progress recently in using available facilities to get larger proportions of students into technical rather than academic training. Most of the countries have some sort of apprenticeship programme, though authors did not report much detail. Greater disparity is evident in terms of the conceptual differences mentioned in Chapter I than in the perceived need for such training.

Though none of the systems treats transition from school to work as an isolated event, they vary in the length of the "long-term" process that receives regular attention. In parts of Canada, some aspects are addressed throughout the school years, in others it is focused in secondary schools. In Greece and Columbia, policy spells out pretty clearly what the expectations are through secondary education, but implementation probably varies widely across regions. In both Taiwan and the Côte d'Ivoire, educational transitions receive considerable attention, but their relation to actual vocational behavior, for the most part, tends to be neglected.

A few unique programme dimensions ought to be highlighted because they might be readily adapted to other cultures. The Ontario requirement that that students be given an opportunity to reflect on the prospects for self-employment can be adapted anywhere, though not necessarily as a requirement. The Côte d'Ivoire practice of relating adult vocational training directly to employment should be attractive enough to employers in some areas to get financial support from them. The type of self-assessment built into the computerized decision making recently introduced in Taiwan is an idea worth emulating. Even if computers are not available, self-assessment is a useful skill for students to develop. The special attention, especially in relation to exploratory behavior, that Greece builds into its programme for young people floundering in the labor market seems very adaptable. The work-experience programme in Newfoundland and Labrador probably took a long time to establish, but it is precisely the sort of activity that can begin modestly and be nurtured into a full-blown network. The centralized vocational practice offered in Colombia's Auxiliary Centers for Teaching Services may be expensive to initiate, especially in newly constructed buildings, but remodeling an unused building may not be out of the question.

The chapter on Colombia reports data on the success and satisfaction of technical school graduates. Similar studies are conducted by OAED in Greece, but none of the details of the data are reported in that chapter. CEIC in Canada is responsible for evaluating the effectiveness of employment counseling, so that office must also collect relevant data. In the Côte d'Ivoire, some such data are produced, but there is little coordination among the agencies generating it, and guidance personnel do not use it well. All of these kinds of data are potentially very useful in the conduct of good guidance services. They should be readily available to and used fully by guidance workers in all settings.

Commonalities

No doubt, if one were so inclined, more commonalities than differences could be identified among the five countries considered in this analysis. Since space is not unlimited, four have been selected for consideration here: the almost universal practice of *borrowing* programme structures, materials, and basic ideas from others; the importance of promoting human *dignity* through vocational guidance; a longer-term conceptualization of the *process of transition* than is usually advocated; and the wide-spread tendency to complain about the adequacy of *resources*. As befits a final section, each is discussed with an eye to the future.

Borrowing

All of the subjects of the present analysis have borrowed from others in building their guidance programmes. Canada at first adopted and then adapted assessment instruments from the United States; Taiwan has done some of the same and is currently adapting computer-assisted decision-making software. Greece has borrowed careers education ideas from the United Kingdom and France, and the Côte d'Ivoire has both inherited and borrowed from France. Colombia engages in mutual borrowing with some of its neighbors.

Borrowing back and forth between the United Kingdom and the United States is a long-standing practice; their cultures have much in common: language, political history, international influence, literature, religious heritage. Clearly, they have more in common than any two of the countries included here. The initial efforts to establish school counseling in the UK were influenced by and patterned after those in the US. Stewart (1983) witnessed the progression of the UK efforts at two points over a decade and reports his perceptions and (commendably) his misperceptions of what was happening. It took some time for programme personnel to figure out why they were unsuccessful at first, but when they modified what they were doing to fit their own culture, they began to find their way. Though they learned much from their lenders and now have a sound system -- quite different from what they borrowed -- one cannot help wondering whether success might have come earlier had they been more deliberate beforehand in sorting out which alternatives would work for them.

None of this is to say that borrowing is detrimental in itself. On the contrary, borrowing, in the sense of a free and willing exchange among colleagues, reaps mutual benefits and, for that very reason, is a central purpose of this monograph. Rather, it is the expectations and the motives of both parties in the relationship -- the borrowers and the lenders -- that may be detrimental.

When a device (or procedure, whatever) appears to function successfully somewhere else, the temptation to simply adopt it may be impelling. But if it turns out that the observed success was more a matter of location -- being in that "somewhere else" -- than an inherent quality of the devise, then building one's own device in the first place may have been the efficient way to proceed. When the source of an idea is seen by the borrower as sophisticated or advanced, or the idea itself is perceived as a short-cut to problem solution, and adoption occurs without sufficient attention to local conditions, disappointment is certain to follow. When lenders believe they possess superior knowledge or techniques, they are likely to overstate the value of what they offer. When borrower and lender approach an interchange with mutual respect and anticipate learning from and giving to each other, their transactions are likely to be satisfying and profitable for both.

Human dignity

Although the precise words do not appear in the reports about individual countries, it is clear that the programmes in each case are intended to dignify the people served. Terms such as "self-direction", "individual responsibility", "making an informed choice", "fulfillment", "self-assessment", "individual potential", and "finding one's place" represent the intentions.

The personal attributes and behaviors regarded as dignifying can differ markedly across cultures, however. The borrowing of ideas, discussed in the previous section, is often misdirected because of failure to appreciate these differences, especially when an over-avid lender crosses into an unfamiliar culture and overlooks the differences. In this connection, assumptions about self-direction (prevalent in socieites which are currently most influential on the international guidance scene) may be disorienting to clients and prove to be counterproductive in societies that assign greater value to conformity or consensus than to individuality.

Technological progress, because of its impact on the labor force structure, forces democratization of labor markets (see Reuchlin, 1956). The need for workers in traditional work is reduced, new employment alternatives emerge, variety among worplaces increases, and new occupations require advanced education and demand a wider variety of specific aptitudes and interests. Making choices becomes more complicated than it was. At the same time, greater numbers of occupations become less available to direct observation in daily life, and more and better information is needed to facilitate choosing among occupational options. The apparent inevitability of the process does not assure

invariable consequences. The disruption caused by nonadaptive response to the changes can be extraordinarily undignifying for people who are physically and psychologically dislocated. Vocational guidance programmes built on indigenous philosophy, as Okon (1983) suggested, will serve better than those fashioned on imported values.

Process of transition

About 40 years ago Margaret Mead predicted that the time was near at hand when people would move freely in and out of formal education throughout their lives. A trend in this direction is clearly detectable in technologically advanced nations. As it progresses, increasing numbers of individuals will make numerous transitions back and forth between education and work.

Providing adequate guidance services when Mead's prediction has become reality will require that education-work transitions be conceptualized as a life-long process. In these expansive terms, the countries studied are unanimous in falling short of the goals that would derive from such a conceptualization. While the major thrust of transitional assistance in all of them occurs in association with the first transition, some have made important progress in moving toward a system which mediates continuing interaction between education and work instead of merely linking them at a single point (Unesco, 1982) by making guidance and work-related training available to adults who have been out of school for extended periods. In the years ahead, additional countries will face the need to follow the same path and even extend the services over greater portions of the life span.

Contemplating the programme expansion suggested by this kind of conceptualization may seem of only remote relevance where current needs are not being met satisfactorily, but it is probaly a good idea to incorporate the prospect into long-range planning. Small beginnings now will probably facilitate more effective adaptaion when the trend accelerates.

Resources

All of the authors report some level of dissatisfaction with the adequacy of resources on which the programmes they described have to operate. Personnel in different situations which are less well-endowed may find themselves envious of the poorest of these. So it seems always to be with resources: there are never enough to do what ought to be done. A personal experience may help to emphasize the point. About two decades ago, as a relatively new consultant, I was doing staff training with two educational institutions providing vocational guidance services to "economically disadvantaged" youth. In one setting the assigned workload was about 1000 students per counselor, in the other, it was exactly 64. Obviously, the services offered in each were very different. The latter (heavily funded by the "War on Poverty" legislation) served slightly older students whose needs were greater, but not in proportion to the difference in staffing ratios. Interestingly, a common plaint from both groups, often in almost the same words, was how much better their performance would be with just a little more resources! Dedicated guidance professionals seem to have enormous ability to envisage more service than resources enable them to deliver.

Struggling through one workday after another on insufficient resources is indeed burdensome, and in the face of constant frustration it takes a great deal of forebearance to leave the complaints unexpressed. But complaining is ineffective because budget-makers hear the same protests from all quarters. If funds are truly unavailable, probably no one can do much to change that. Those programme operators who use resources as fully as possible in the circumstances and know they have given their best effort are entitled to feel gratification in their work. If they can manage to gather evidence that their performance is effective, acquire the skills needed to obtain a larger share of their instituional budget, locate external sources of funds, and find community support for their programmes, they will be in a better position to bargain for additional resources. Since few people can muster the resolve and stamina to do all of these things well, it is necessary to establish priorites as to which time and energy investments provide the best balance of service to clients and personal satisfaction. Any other course amounts to unwise expenditure of personal resources.

APPENDIX A

DISCUSSION AND STUDY GUIDE

The purpose of this appendix is to facilitate discussion or consideration of the content of Chapters I through VII, with particular emphasis on whether or not the rationale, structure, and practices described can be adapted for application to the cultures of users of the monograph. Individual readers can decide for themselves the best way to benefit from consideration of the content. Leaders of groups may want to think about assigning particular sets of study questions to individuals or small groups and have reporters present summaries or a list of recommendations to a plenary session. It may also prove useful to use discussion of the questions raised here as a jumping-off point for building a list of additional questions.

I Overview

A. The diversity, programme offerings, and commonalities which were discussed in Chapter VII probably did not exhaust the possibilities in any of the categories.

1. Can you identify some important ideas that were overlooked?

   a. If so, name and discuss them.
   b. How do they contribute to a more complete synthesis of the other content?
   c. Do they draw attention to practices that might be adapted in your own culture?

2. Does any of the ideas discussed appear to be irrelevant to your culture?

   a. Is it possible to modify such ideas to make them more relevant?
   b. If some of the ideas are not particularly relevant to your own culture, can you find relevance in them for another culture with which you are familiar?
   c. Which of the ideas, if any, do you think are relevant to all cultures?

B. It is possible that the organization of the present volume was not the most suitable one for the stated purpose.

1. If you were the editor of a similar volume, how would you organize its content?

2. Do you think that some dimension other than difference in technological development would be a better organizing theme?

3. Are there other countries you think should have been included that would represent additional dimensions of diversity?

   a. Which countries?
   b. What dimensions of diversity would they add?
   c. Why do you think it is important to attend to those additional dimensions of diversity?
   d. In what ways would their inclusion enhance the value of the analysis?

II Definitions of terms

A. In the Foreword and Chapter I, several definitions were offered explicitly. Elsewhere, others were implied.

1. Do you find the definitions acceptable?

2. If not, which ones would you like to change?

B. In your opinion, are there additional terms which should have been defined?

1. What are they?

2. How would you define them?

C. In a volume such as this, is the definition of terms really worth the time and space it requires?

III The individual countries

A. It is probable that some practice in each of the countries differs from what is in common use in your own.

1. Select one practice from each of the countries that you would like to adapt for use in your country and discuss each in terms of the questions which follow.

   a. In what ways would it have to be modified in order to be suitable for your culture?
   b. What obstacles would you anticipate in trying to implement it?
   c. Do you think you would have the support of colleagues in implementing it?
   d. Why or why not?
   e. If your colleagues were not supportive, but you regarded it as an important improvement over current practice, what strategies would you employ to change their minds?
   f. Which of your proposed strategies do you believe would be most effective?
   g. In what ways would your task of persuading colleagues be simplified if you had good evidence of effectiveness?

2. Select one practice from each of the countries that you think would be inappropriate for application in your own country. Discuss each one in terms of the issues raised in the preceding question.

B. No doubt there are practices in your country which would be beneficial for the countries in this volume to adapt for use in their systems.

1. Name one practice that you regard as suitable for each of the others.

   a. What about it would make it attractive to people in another culture?
   b. Why do you believe it would be adaptable?

2. How would you go about informing people in the other country about it

   a. Do you printed materials that describe it?
   b. Do you have readily available evidence of its effectiveness?
   c. What might you do that has not been done to make it easier to communicate with others about it?
   d. If you are working in a group of people from your own country, talk about how you might collaborate to improve communication with other people about your own effective practices.
   e. If you are working in a group with people from different countries, you may want to engage in some role playing and take turns trying to

persuade each other that your own practices are adaptable to the other's culture.

C. It is possible that some of your own practices, though not suitable for the countries included in this volume would be suitable for other countries not included.

1. Which practices do you think would be adaptable for which countries?

2. Discuss each in terms of the issues raised in your discussion of the previous question.

D. Computer-assisted guidance has recently been introduced in Taiwan of China and has been in fairly wide use in Canada as in some other developed countries.

1. Do you use computers in your guidance programme?

   a. If so, what application do you find most effective?
   b. Does the initial cost of installing computers pay for itself over the long run?
   c. To what kinds of applications are you planning to (or would like to) expand computer applications to include?

2. If you do not currently use computers, in what ways would you like to apply them if they were available?

E. An effective programme in Colombia seems to be the Auxiliary Centers for Teaching Services which permit students to pursue vocational practice experiences in a central location while they continuing to receive academic instruction in their regular schools.

1. Could a programme of this kind be adapted so it could work in your country?

   a. Would it be possible to obtain the necessary support?
   b. What obstacles would be encountered?
   c. Which strategies would be helpful in overcoming the obstacles?

2. What would be the reaction in your culture to each of the following conditions which might be built into a plan such as the one in Colombia:

   a. Having students divide their school attendance between two separate facilities?
   b. Having students travel from home to two different locations for schooling?
   c. Having students attend one facility in the morning, the other in the afternoon?
   d. Requiring them to report to the separate facilities on alternate days or during alternate weeks?
   e. Permitting students to participate in the programme only if they lived within walking distance of each facility?
   f. Requiring students to travel to or between the facilities only on school buses?
   g. Allowing students to travel long distances to both facilities on public transportation?
   h. Providing this kind of education for boys but not for girls?

3. Would the inconveniences or the costs of travel identified in the previous question be perceived as outweighing the value of improved education?

F. Because they had inadequate occupational information available to them, the vocational counselors in Greece developed their own.

1. How do you think they managed to do it?

2. Would it be possible to undertake a similar effort in your country, either to create or improve a supply of educational and occupational information?

3. If you were to attempt something similar, what additional resources would you need in terms of:

   a. facilities?
   b. technical assistance?
   c. additional staff?
   d. supplemental funds?

4. What arguments (or evidence) would you use to justify requests for additional resources?

5. If you had to develop your own occupational information without supplementary resources, how would you have to re-order you priorities in order to get the job done?

G. The Côte d'Ivoire appears to have had some success in using public television in disseminating occupational information.

1. Is that kind of dissemination used in your country?

2. If not, do you think it is feasible to do so?

3. In what ways could you justify its use in terms of:

   a. efficient use of staff time?
   b. reaching clients who would not otherwise be reached?
   c. making the information more appealing to prospective users?
   d. the special needs of particular segments of the population?

4. Are there other ways in which the use of mass communication methods would be helpful to the clients you try to serve?

H. In Chapter VII, in the discussion of published reports about labor force data that may be useful in the facilitating the transition from school to work, no mention was made of the Taiwan of China. On the basis of that discussion, you do not know whether such data have ever been collected in the Taiwan of China.

1. What evidence would you invoke from Katz's presentation to persuade a colleague that such data probably do exist and have been collected and distributed for years.?

2. What evidence would you invoke from the same source to argue that the data have never been collected because they are probably perceived as unnecessary?

IV Some perplexing universal issues

A. In Chapter I, three definitions of work were suggested, which you may want to reread before proceeding. When you are ready to proceed, consider the three assumptions which follow:

* Work is the central organizing force in human experience.

* Most people, irrespective of age or sex, spend more time working on most days than they do in any other activity.

* The work a person does is the single most important determinant of his/her life style.

Using at least one of these assumptions as a base, create your own definition of work and then consider the following questions.

1. Are you satisfied with the definition you created?

   a. Were you able to incorporate more than one of the assumptions?
   b. Do you think it would be acceptable to others?
   c. If you used only one assumption, how would your definition change, if you switch the base to one of the other assumptions/

2. Does your definition include as workers people who do not receive a salary?

   a. Which unpaid groups of workers does your definition account for?
   b. What proportion of the labor force would the additional people account for in your country?
   c. In the world?

3. In what ways do you think the definition of work will change over the course of the next:

   a. decade?
   b. generation?
   c. century?

4. In working through this exercise, you must have considered some of the conditions which would foster a redefinition of work. What effect would those conditions have on the economy in your country?

B. In most cultures there are personal or social circumstances which create either an advantage or a disadvantage in terms of educational or occupational opportunities.

1. What do you see as the major cause of marketplace advantage in your society?

2. What do you see as the major causes of disadvantage?

3. How can you use knowledge of these circumstances to help the students or clients you work with?

4. It is possible in some countries that the barriers created by these circumstances are illegal. If so, what can you do to help your clients overcome the illegal barriers?

C. Although guidance specialists cannot be held responsible for rapid changes in labor force structure or composition brought by technological advancement, it seems reasonable to hold them accountable for the ways they respond to it.

1. What can you do at the level in which you function to:

   a. anticipate the kinds of problems which might arise?
   b. to adjust services to meet the problems?
   c. to bolster the morale of co-workers when the occasion demands?

2. What can you do to increase the probability that policy decisions will be responsive to the need?

D. The authors of most of the chapters noted that some students enter school with superficial or stereotypic impressions about work. In spite of careers education and guidance programmes, some will leave school believing as they did when they entered.

1. Beyond providing information, what can a guidance worker do to help such youngsters?

2. What have you done recently that worked especially well with an individual or a group of clients?

3. What have you done that has worked well in helping families to help their own children overcome stereotypes?

4. Is there more that you could do?

E. Most of the authors also commented about the lack of coordination either among policy makers or in the delivery of guidance services.

1. What has been done where you work to improve coordination among policy-making bodies?

2. Are there additional actions that you would suggest?

2. Do you believe that guidance personnel should have any responsibility for helping with the coordination of policy matters?

3. Is there any value in trying to enlist the assistance of community groups (such as service clubs) in coordinating delivery of guidance services?

4. Have you had some positive experiences in this connection that would be helpful to others?

F. Are the issues highlighted in this section really universal?

APPENDIX B

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE TRAINING OF GUIDANCE WORKERS

The extent of training required to perform as a guidance worker depends directly on what the job responsibilities will be. In the programmes described for the present volume, training ranged from a few days of instruction for classroom teachers (guidance assistants) to completion of a master's degree. (In some North American universities, it takes two years of graduate study to complete a master's degree, but one year is more typical.) There is no intention to cover the full scope of possibilities between those two extremes in the present context, so this list of suggestions will attend to only two levels of preparation: the bare minimum deemed appropriate for the most casual guidance functioning, and what is seen as suitable as minimum preparation for assuming responsibility for regular individual contact with clients.

Two important conditions should be borne in mind about the suggestions offered here. The first is that whatever guidance is provided must be relevant in the culture and address the outcomes the society expects and is able to pay for.

The second is that no matter what experts say the minimum requirements ought to be, cultures with a pressing need and limited resources will do the best they can within the constraints they face. Perceptive workers will soon discover the limitations of their preparation and do what they can to improve their competency, and to make sure their successors are better prepared than they. It is important that workers who are less than fully trained be acutely aware of their limitations and to avoid going beyond what they know they can do well. In time, as has happened in most places, more formal preparation will be added until a functional balance is achieved between what the professional leadership sees as desirable and what the society is willing to pay for.

The road to the point of balance may be rocky and long enough to try the patience of dedicated professionals. It may be comforting, therefore, to know that some of the same North American universities that require two years of graduate work today (usually about 60 academic credits beyond a bachelor's degree) just a few decades ago were certifying people to work as teacher-counselors after earning as few as 6 such credits.

A classroom teacher who is being trained to assist with guidance work has what the system requires by way of an understanding of human development, so no further training should be required in that area. Such a teacher should also be informed in four additional areas:

1. basic knowledge of the labor force, including something about employment trends, and readily predictable changes in structure;
2. specific knowledge of local labor markets, such as which industries employ the most graduates from the local schools and what kinds of occupations recent graduates have obtained;
3. where the information they distribute came from, who prepared it, and where additional information can be obtained;
4. how and where to make a referral to someone who can offer more specific assistance in interpreting the information or in learning more details about working conditions, and such.

Transmittal of this knowledge and how to use it can probably be managed in a few days by a competent instructor working with willing students. Periodic refresher sessions would be advisable. Whoever is in charge of the training might arrange for the teachers to accompany their students occasionally on a visit to a local employer. In a few years, they can acquire a lot of information which will make their own jobs easier and improve the general level of service.

For continuing direct contact with clients, more formal preparation is essential. The minimum should be an academic degree, preferably in the behavioral sciences. In those regions where teacher preparation is typically less than an academic degree, authorities may insist that the same is an adequate base for specialized training, and that may have to be the beginning point. Nothing less than the equivalent of teacher preparation should be accepted as the prerequisite, but the full academic degree is obviously more desirable.

Additional training should include mastery of subject matter in several areas:

1. additional training in developmental psychology, with particular emphasis on theories of vocational development;

2. knowledge of descriptive statistics is essential, but inferential statistics would be preferred;

3. extensive knowledge of the labor force including long-term trends in changing occupational structure, employment trends, detailed knowledge of local job markets, a great deal of knowledge about occupations and related training requirements and working conditions, and occupational classification systems;

4. basic psychometric theory, knowledge of assessment instruments and mastery of administration and scoring of them, at least some competence in the interpretation of test scores;

5. good interpersonal skills and reasonable mastery of interviewing skills;

6. at least an introduction to related academic areas, including social psychology, organizational psychology, philosophy, economics, sociology, anthropology, and politics and public policy;

7. considerable knowledge of local and national history, and as thorough knowledge as is possible of the cultures in which prospective clients live.

Much of the content outlined above will have been covered in a good academic degree programme, but some refreshing may be useful. Content not covered in previous education can probably be mastered adequately for beginning guidance workers in a few months, but supplemental on-the-job training will be needed. Additional training through workshops and part-time university attendance should be encouraged.

The preparation described is not considered sufficient to qualify as a counselor; additional training would be required to do so. But the suggested training would enable a beginning specialist to perform adequately in the other guidance functions in helping others to manage their transitions from school to work.

APPENDIX C

CANADIAN PUBLICATIONS

Many documents are available in English and French from:

Canada Employment and Immigration Commission
Commission de l'emploi et de l'immigration du Canada
Ottawa-Hull, K1A 0J9, CANADA

English	French
Assessment Component of Employment Counseling	L'élément évaluation du counselling d'emploi
Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations	La planification canadienne et dictionnaire des occupations
Canadian Jobs Strategy	La planification de l'emploi
Careers Canada	Carrières Canada
Careers Provinces	Carrières provinces
Choices	Choix
College and University Programs in Canada	Programmes des collèges et des universités du Canada
Creative Job Search Techniques	Méthodes de recherche d'emploi
Generic Skills	Habilités génériques
Individual Employment Counseling	Counselling d'emploi individuel
Job Finding Club	Club de placement
Life Skills	Dynamique de la vie
National Occupational Classification/ JOBSCAN	Classification nationale des professions et JOBSCAN
Place	Place

Other relevant terms

Canada Employment Centres	Centres d'emploi du Canada
General Aptitude Test Battery	Batterie générale de tests d'aptitudes
Service needs determination interview	Entrevue de détermination des besoins de service

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